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R. FRITH

FINAL REPORT  
(VOLUME I)

AUTHOR: M. Chevalier

TITLE: The dynamics of adaptation in  
the Federal Public Service.

DIV: IV Report no. 28





## MEMORANDUM

CLASSIFICATION

TO  
A

R. Hodgson

YOUR FILE No.  
Value dossiercc. Frith ✓  
Laurendeau  
Findlay  
Chevalier

CALZI

OUR FILE No.  
Value dossierFROM  
De

M. Brownstone

DATE

May 6, 1968.

OLD  
SUBJECT  
SujetDynamics of Adaptation

A careful re-reading of the Chevalier text has confirmed my original expectation that the work is highly publishable. The revision has tightened the text and made it both far more readable and focussed. I urge proceeding with a definite publication plan without delay - since it is a particularly useful companion piece to the Book itself.

General Comments

The text proceeds admirably up to Chapter 4. (Incidentally although there may be technical problems in reproducing the charts I would insist as I did originally that they are essential to the whole work). I would make one suggestion regarding the concept and treatment of "Planning for the Future." Its title is very stimulating and may describe the spirit of the process. Unfortunately, it is not a very useful analytical category compared with "functional" and "priority" since each of these could be in fact planning for the future. The real key to this kind of planning is given on page 59 and it is "the department must give first consideration to the employee" and the analysis should describe and evaluate what this implies for a planning process whether it be functional or priority, policy or organizational. I feel that the point will be made more clearly if it is set in this kind of context than specified as a distinct class of planning.

When we move from Chapter 3 to Chapter 4 the cohesiveness of the text tends to break down. It is not simply a matter of better linkage but additionally the reader has not been prepared in the introduction to receive the perspective of Chapter 4.

Up to this point in the text we have been within the public service systems and three areas of difficulty have been identified in the adaptation process - the planning style, the political and administrative relationship and the total field of pressure. (In the latter case we do move outside the public service system). Those areas while by no means exclusive do



provide a useful base for launching a discussion of adaptation since we have been brought to the realization that these are the areas needing treatment. Instead, the text tends to lose the value and impact of this analysis. It first diverts the reader towards a whole powerful, new but weakly related and weakly documented perspective (Chapter 4) and then fails to identify the analytical foundation for the proposals in the epilogue.

Our goal should be to utilize Chapter 4 in such a way as not to overpower the first three chapters since these constitute our documentation. One way to do this is to integrate Chapter 4 as a major element in the "field of pressure" analysis of chapter three and then end up with a summary to chapter 3 which incorporates conclusions about the public service system per se and the relevance of the total social system to it. This will give us a more cohesive and balanced springboard for the epilogue.

The epilogue in my view should rest on the notion of consolidation as the central concept. But unlike the present text it should not emphasize re-deployment as the main instrument of consolidation. Essentially, we cannot avoid the main problem which is at the centre of government. No amount of re-deployment will change this because even with extreme re-deployment entire departments and vital centres of all departments will remain at the centre and without an effective French Canadian presence there the game is not worth playing. My clear preference, therefore, is the cardinal principle of consolidation of the centre and this is what should be stressed using the unilingual unit as the structural mechanism. Given this re-deployment or de-concentration will undoubtedly relieve the adaptation burden at the centre plus capitalizing on a greater federal presence in the Quebec community. With such basic proposals in hand we can then link our proposals back more strongly to the process of adaption suggested by the material up to the present chapter 4. In other words given a commitment to consolidation the adaptive machinery and process takes on new meaning and new realism.

Finally, the epilogue which would need fairly complete re-working if the above is followed, would require detailed revision in any event. My detailed notes indicate many problems with the present text.

I have arranged to meet Mr. Chevalier in Montréal next week (May 14) to review the text and I would be pleased to discuss the whole question with you prior to that time.

Many thanks



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VOLUME I



THE DYNAMICS OF ADAPTATION  
IN THE  
FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE

Internal Research project of the  
Royal Commission on Bilingualism  
and Biculturalism.

Michel Chevalier  
October, 1966



THE DYNAMICS OF ADAPTATION IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE

In the Context of Bilingualism and Biculturalism

A study prepared for the Public Service  
Division of the Royal Commission on  
Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

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University of Pennsylvania.

NOTE: Other collaborators included Messrs. Peter G. White, Timothy J. Cartwright and Peter F. Lyman who assumed a primary responsibility in the discussion group process. James R. Taylor assumed major responsibilities in the preparation of this report, assisted by Donald C. MacNaught. Messrs. Pierre E. Coulombe, Jean David, Peter C. Findlay and Fred E. Walden also made substantial contributions to the study. We are indebted to many others among the Commission staff and consultants and would particularly like to mention Messrs. Louis G. Kelly and William F. Mackey for their counsel in matters of language training.

Michel Chevalier  
October 1966.



## PREFACE

This study was undertaken for the purpose of examining the decision-making process of the Public Service in action, and of assessing the actual and potential ability of the service to respond and adapt to the growing demands of bilingualism and biculturalism. The study team initiated a series of discussion groups and other relationships with selected federal government departments, using the Action Research strategy of interest based planning. This approach to the study is described in Chapter I and in Appendices II and III. Chapter II outlines bureaucratic processes in stability and change, as a prelude to Chapter III which describes the actual field experience of the study.

A number of courses of action to meet bilingual and bicultural requirements were articulated as a result of the field work largely by public servants themselves and a modest approach for new institutional devices was also made. The study concludes, however that this form of adaptation described in Chapter IV and Appendix 1 is of insufficient scope to meet the need for change. In Chapter V examples of more fundamental changes are proposed which give some indication of the degree of adaptation needed. Without this order of change, it is argued that the more modest forms of adaptation uncovered by the study are essentially insufficient.



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## THE DYNAMICS OF ACTION

### Action Research Project

#### CHAPTER I

##### AN ACTION FRAMEWORK

###### What is Action Research?

If one thinks of the Commission's task as having two main parts: first, to establish the true nature of the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service, and second to recommend changes, then Action Research focussed on the second phase. It was based on the assumption, namely, that the Public Service would be found to be less than perfectly bilingual and bicultural and that more or less radical changes would be required. On this pre-supposition the Commission authorized the Action Research team to put together a modest program which would encourage department officials, who in the last analysis will have to implement solutions, to take on the responsibility for adaptation immediately, experimentally, in terms of their own needs and objectives in the hope that we (and they) would learn from the changes as they occurred. Such research focussed not on whether changes were needed, nor how many, but on how to bring them about, and if the mechanisms were present in the Public Service itself to effect them. This research, it was felt, would be dynamic since it would not study in detail the very situation which would have to be altered. It would, hopefully, stimulate an innovative atmosphere, test the feasibility of possible recommendations, and give the Commission a 'feel' for the milieu of the Public Service.



In effect, we began with a null hypothesis, namely, that if there was a problem as there appeared to be, nothing further was needed to solve it than the co-operation of the public servants themselves.\* Rather than assuming at the beginning that drastic measures were needed, we began with the opposite assumption as a working hypothesis, that nothing drastic was needed.

The central aim of the Action Research program, then, was to study the policy and operation of the administration of government departments insofar as they concern bilingualism and biculturalism related to the possibility of inducing change. Policy-making and operations of administration in a real-life situation are a complex web of social processes; that is to say, they are not simply a function of organization charts or of individual attitudes. Looking directly at the processes of human interaction which occur in a social setting such as the Public Service makes special demands on the researcher.

"There is a special technique in studying the informal organization of (an organization) ... In the first place, it must be remembered that no amount of study of individual people will be likely to give much information; the unit of observation is the social relationship rather than the individual (italics ours). The

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\* Cf. Speech made by Maurice Lamontagne, President of the Privy Council, in the House of Commons, June 12, 1963: "The government has already announced its intention of taking steps to ensure that the federal administration, including crown corporations, will be bilingualism character. That objective has already been set forth in the terms of reference to be given to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. However, the government does not intend to wait for the recommendations of that Commission before taking concrete steps in that field. We are now preparing a comprehensive plan, to be put into force by stages as soon as it is completed... A special cabinet committee has already been formed to prepare that comprehensive plan as well as the necessary reforms in government organization.



behaviour and opinions of the members as isolated individuals may be different from their behaviour and opinions when they come to be integrated into a group..... This is a fundamental axiom of social psychology".<sup>1</sup>

This meant that we had to get into the departments, and do so without assuming the role of threatening outsiders, since, to be successful, we had to try to see how the problem looks from the inside. We therefore approached top-level civil servants, and proposed to sit down with them to work out practical schemes to deal with the problems they saw in the field of bilingualism and biculturalism.

The advantage of actually involving ourselves in the life of the group which was making the policy and carrying it out, we felt, was that it would give us a better picture of how departmental groups might deal with the problem, because it was the group working on the problem. What we did was to take the administration as we found it, to react with it, pinning our hopes on becoming part of it and by doing so, to find out what really went on. If we were successful, we could establish a good relationship with the department: get inside their structure and their processes and then with them define the problem and shape the solution.

1. J.A.C. Brown, The Social Psychology of Industry, p. 130. Penguin Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1954.



The appropriate method for such an endeavour, we felt, was Action Research. Action Research (sometimes called 'participant research') is not new in the social sciences: however it has only recently begun to become prominent, and a word of explanation may be useful. The idea was developed in the field of psychology:

"Partly in response to the challenge of dealing with complex heterogeneous groups, and partly to transcend this artificial dichotomy of 'two types' of social scientist, there has developed a new field in social psychology, especially associated with the name of Kurt Lewin and appropriately designated as Action Research. Action Research simply is the application of scientific procedures to real social problems. More specifically, it concerns itself not merely with discovering the causes of these problems, but also with finding the means for dealing with them and applying these means as the most effective method of bringing about change".<sup>2</sup>

Action Research has also found wide application in Applied Anthropology.<sup>3</sup>

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2. Harold M. Proshansky, "Projective Techniques in Action Research: Disguised, Diagnosis and Measurement," Projective Psychology, eds. Lawrence Abt and Leopold Bellak, Alfred Knopf Ltd., 1950, p. 463.
  3. "The Society for Applied Anthropology" consists of psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists interested in the application of the theory of informal primary groups in the solution of governmental and industrial administrative problems.



The term 'Action Research', however, denotes not so much a technique or a precise methodology as a philosophy and a commitment.<sup>4</sup> If it offers special advantages, it also creates special hazards:

"The research program of the action researcher set up within the framework of a group desiring significant social action must be guided closely by the needs and interests of the group in order to bring about this change. Thus from the moment he enters the community the action researcher must focus his attention upon what the community regards as significant. His role in the community is a subordinate one".

'The action researcher interacts with the community in which he is working and finds special limitations imposed at every level of his work from the choice of problem areas, the specific formulation of the problem, the selection of procedures, the presentation of his findings, on through to their application...'<sup>6</sup>

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4. Cf. K.O. Dike in the "International Social Science Journal", Volume XVI, No. 4, 1964, page 509: "...One may note also in the social sciences a general shift in emphasis toward the study of the dynamics rather than the statics of society... The sociologist and social anthropologist likewise are less preoccupied with a description of the functioning of societies at a particular point in time and more concerned with discovering processes of change. The political scientist has tended to abandon the study of political institutions as static entities and 'human nature' as a given quantity in favour of the study of political processes and the responses and interactions in terms of human personalities and their environment
  5. Proshansky, Projective Techniques, pp. 464-65.
  6. I. Chein, S.W. Cook, and J. Harding, The Use of Research in Social Therapy, cited in Proshansky, Projective Techniques, p. 465.



Thus while Action Research is an established scientific approach to investigation, nevertheless we were in many ways breaking fresh ground and we had to learn as we went. To know what one is searching for generally is not to solve the particular problem of how to develop an appropriate methodology, nor the equally difficult question of how to evaluate the significance of the results. This first chapter is devoted to describing how the project developed and what we believe can be learned from it.

#### How the Project Evolved

The original project, as described in the proposal of May 21, 1965, envisaged an active role for the Inter-Departmental Committee on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

The central idea was that it was better for the Public Service itself to begin the process of adaptation immediately and to accept the responsibility of conducting its own research program, than for it to declare a stand-still until final details of the Royal Commission's report and subsequent government policy became known. It was proposed that the Public Service set up its own research program, under the Inter-Departmental Committee. The Commission research team would help to get the program started and act as advisors (and observers). The Commission and a committee of public servants would evaluate results jointly.



In very general terms, two major steps were suggested, (1) a bicultural institute, devoted to developing greater knowledge and understanding of the problem, and (2) a series of experimental language training projects.

However, the I.D.C. (Inter-departmental Committee) declined to co-operate. It was not interested in our approach.<sup>7</sup> At the time this seemed to be a severe blow: in some ways, however, the refusal to co-operate turned out to be a blessing in disguise, because it resulted in a more adventurous, experimental program than the I.D.C. would have been prepared to sponsor, judging from what we have since learned of their style of approach to problems and their general attitude.<sup>8</sup>

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7. For a history of our relations with this body and a description of their approach and planning, see chapter 4.
  8. "Departmental Discussion Groups" - Internal Action Research Working Paper, June 18, 1965.  
 "From the tenor of recent meetings, the attitude of the senior public servant to bilingualism and biculturalism begins to take a clearer shape. The remark about waiting for things to "distill out" is revealing.  
 "In a sense, the senior public servant tends many large and live issues by holding them at arms length, giving them an occasional educated prod, watching others prod them and observing them ripen and develop or wither away. Almost all his problems can be (indeed have to be) treated this way. Because he is conditioned to this kind of response, it takes more than a merely efficient senior public servant to recognize the truly urgent problem, the one which must be attended to right away. In this respect, the pressure for fast action usually comes from outside, logically from the political level.  
 "The pressure for fast action has not come from the political level in the case of B. & B. There was some urgency written into the original terms of reference of the senior public service inter-departmental committee on B. & B. but it appears that this pressure has not been followed up".



From the middle of June to the first of July, 1965, an alternative approach had to be devised. The problem was this: Action Research, by its nature, requires a commitment to action on the part of the group undertaking it. Such a commitment did not seem to be present. How to encourage it?

One possibility was a direct approach to the political apparatus. The danger of this was that, in going over the Heads of the departments, the resentment so engendered among civil servants could diminish the probability of necessary co-operation. A second way would be to persuade certain key 'mandarins' to use their influence to get the I.D.C. moving. But, by this time, the idea of a third approach had begun to take shape. Instead of trying to work from the centre out, might it not be possible to make a number of approaches at the departmental level, and by encouraging parallel programs to evolve out of the departments' needs, thus to put pressure on the central agencies, the I.D.C., the Treasury Board, the Civil Service Commission, to respond. In other words, a policy of incrementalism, or as we came to call it, Progressive Linkage Planning. In this manner, a comprehensive, Public Service-wide program might be put together



synthetically.<sup>9</sup> The core of this idea was to deal with a large number of key decision-makers in a short time through a series of departmental discussion groups, to identify problem areas and commit the departments to programs of change. Reactions of selected management people, public and private, on whom we tried out the idea, were very favourable; they believed the approach would work, and they made a number of valuable suggestions about how to set up the departmental discussion groups, which were subsequently

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9. "Departmental Discussion Groups": Internal Action Research Working Paper, June 22, 1965.  
"One may wonder why so little has been done through the Inter-departmental Committee on B. & B. Possibly if more time and support had been given by the public servants to a commitment for change, more would have been done, (or if the Government had made it urgently and frequently clear that action was required).  
"On the other hand, there are severe handicaps to an instrumentality like an inter-departmental committee initiating useful courses of action in a case like this. Apart from the lack of staff, and the emotional distinctions conjured up by the problem, there is the question of its definition (coming to grips with it), which appears to be beyond the normal range of responses of the successful public servant. Add to this the fact that the individual departments tend to be each an administrative power pinnacle, and the enormity of the problem becomes apparent.  
"The creation of an embryonic B. & B. planning process at the departmental level, where action decisions can possibly best be initiated, adds a new dimension to the situation. The departmental planning process can generate demands on the central agencies - Civil Service Commission and Treasury Board, which it is their function to evaluate (or resist).  
"Previously the pressure (which existed only in theory) was supposed to go out in a permissive way from the central agencies, aided and abetted by the inter-departmental committee. This was the spent pressure generated by government edict".



incorporated in the program. By the end of June 1965 a new research design had been worked out. The first departmental meeting was held on June 30.

The first step was to speak to the Deputy Minister of each department we intended to deal with. From him we attempted to find out what the department had done to date, their future plans and priorities and whether he would agree to a discussion meeting of the senior officials of the department.

We emphasized to him that we were there to co-operate with him, not to investigate. We made a point of the Commission's concern for practical solutions, and our belief that the opinions of men on the firing-line mattered. We emphasized the confidentiality of the meetings, and our concern for getting down to practical brass tacks as soon as we could. We told him we had ideas ourselves and wanted to hear his.

From these unstructured interviews, we got an idea of the facts of the situation and began to size up attitudes. Although there were many delays, on the whole we were received courteously. Our impression was that there was considerable anxiety about the situation among the senior people we spoke to, but of an unfocussed kind. There was



concern, also, that the Commission might be pressured into radical, 'half-baked' recommendations which might do more harm than good. Some said they appreciated our approach. At least in one case, that of a French-Canadian Deputy Minister, we were told that one of the main benefits of our approach he saw, was an opportunity to find out about the attitudes of his senior officials, without being put in the position of having to ask them directly himself. One thing in particular struck us: for the most part, our discussion groups were the first systematic approach departments had made to planning in the area of bilingualism and biculturalism, or even to talking about the problem.

The first meeting was largely unstructured. We explained what we were doing there, and what we expected of them. At some of our early meetings, we experimented with certain discussion techniques. For example, we prepared a set of four 'images', which described two stereotyped English attitudes and two French. After two or three trials, however, we decided there were more economical ways to achieve our aims, and dropped this idea. Our original concern had been to arouse interest: it very rapidly became how to keep the discussion focussed on realizable goals.



Each meeting, of course, had its own chemistry. We had tried to select as wide a spectrum of departmental activities as limitations of time and personnel allowed, for example, 'line' departments, 'service' departments, scientific agencies, and so on. We aimed at departments with English-Canadian Deputy Ministers and French-Canadian Deputy Ministers, with strong and weak French-Canadian representation. We found, as one might expect, that individual Deputy Ministers have quite different ways of handling meetings and dealing with their subordinates, ranging from thoroughly democratic-to surprisingly autocratic. These factors naturally affected the course of the meeting.

We attempted to end this first meeting with some sort of agreement that one or two lines of thought showed enough promise to warrant a second meeting.

We then found, if we could, a 'contact' man in the department, someone below the Deputy Minister level, but with easy access to him, preferably an assistant deputy. From this point we telephoned, followed up leads from the discussion, prepared position papers for the consideration of future meetings, and attempted anything our imagination could come up with to sustain the impetus. If at times we appeared to be trying single-handed to reform the Public



Service, then all we can say in our own defence is that we knew better. This was the risk we had to take in order to keep the department's attention focussed on the problem.

The project continued over a span of slightly more than ten months, from late June 1965 to early May 1966. During the summer of 1965, we approached 12 departments.<sup>10</sup> In November, five more departments were added.<sup>11</sup> We recorded more than 150 contacts, interviews, discussion groups and other sessions where we sat in as observers. The following diary of contacts with two departments, illustrates the process:

#### Department X

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| June 22     | Interview with the Deputy Minister<br>(Chevalier, Cartwright)                       |
| June 29     | First group discussion (Chevalier, Cartwright)                                      |
| July 21     | Second group discussion<br>(Chevalier, Cartwright, Findlay)                         |
| September 9 | Short meeting with the Deputy Minister's<br>Executive Assistant (Cartwright, Lyman) |

- 
10. Citizenship and Immigration  
Dominion Bureau of Statistics  
Economic Council of Canada  
Forestry  
Industrial Development Bank  
Industry  
Mines and Technical Surveys  
National Harbours Board  
National Film Board  
National Health and Welfare  
National Revenue (Customs & Excise)  
St. Lawrence Seaway Authority

11. The Treasury Board  
Civil Service Commission  
Trade and Commerce  
Finance  
Northern Affairs



October 29 Joint meeting between departmental officials and C.S.C. representative (Lyman, Walden)

Jan. - Feb. Series of phone conversations and one meeting with Deputy Minister's Executive Assistant (Lyman)

February 8 Meeting with an Assistant Deputy Minister (Findlay, Lyman)

February 9 Telephone conversation with some Assistant Deputy Ministers (White)

February 17 Phone conversation with Deputy Minister's Executive Assistant (Lyman)

February 21 Group discussion within one branch of department (Taylor, Lyman)

March 11 Meeting with Deputy Minister and Executive Assistant (White)

March 23 Cocktail evening session with Assistant Deputy Minister (Findlay, Lyman)

Department Y

July Various attempts to reach Deputy Minister by phone and appointment

August Further unsuccessful attempts to arrange meeting with Deputy Minister

August 30 Meeting with Deputy Minister (Chevalier)

August 31 Meeting with Deputy Minister (Chevalier)

November 3 Meeting with Deputy Minister (Chevalier)

December 22 Dinner party with several departmental heads, including Deputy Minister of this department

December 30 Phone conversation with Deputy Minister's Executive Assistant (Cartwright)



February 15	Phone conversation with Deputy Minister (White)
February 17	Meeting with Deputy Minister's Executive Assistant (White, Lyman)
March 2	Meeting with two officers (White, Lyman)
March-April	Further contact with department's B.P.O., including two meetings of the B.P.O.s of several departments.

The group discussion presented special problems of role definition. Generally, two researchers attended each meeting, one as participant, the other as observer. The observer took as complete notes as possible, while remaining unobtrusive: we were naturally concerned to have full reports. His second role was that of critic. This was an important function, since our basic problem was that we were neither completely inside the departmental process, nor yet completely outside: we were half-way in. At times we acted as stimuli; at other times we wanted to blend into the woodwork to allow normal processes to proceed as spontaneously as possible. We sometimes felt we had been too aggressive, sometimes too hesitant; many hours of self-criticism followed.<sup>12</sup>

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12. One example from an Internal Action Research Working Paper from 1965 might give the flavour:  
 "Not enough attention was paid to the thinking they had done, the paper they had prepared, the paper they proposed to prepare and the various proposals they put forth. Instead of picking up the kind of thing they proposed and building on it, too many attempts were made to introduce other and distinct lines of action. This may well emerge in similar discussion, but the pace cannot be forced; Commission participants must be prepared to start where the department officials are and build viable courses of action... Overall the meeting was exceedingly fruitful... The clear identification of the control agencies as a source of tension (debilitating in this instance) was a most useful finding..." and so on.



Gradually, however, we became confident that we had evolved a working style which was effective. Altogether, seven of us worked extensively on the project: we came from different disciplines and backgrounds, but we quickly developed a harmonious working relationship which permitted us to be ruthlessly critical of each other's performances and ideas. There were many strategy sessions and hours spent trying to evaluate what we had learned, and plan the next step. In other words, we had to bear in mind we were conducting research as well as stimulating action.

Within a comparatively short period, we had succeeded in isolating a wide range of courses of action. A number of these were pushed ahead by departments into an advanced planning stage, and some resulted in actual initiative, with the result that we were able to begin to assess their value. A full description of the process is found in Chapter 3.

#### The Experimental Value of Action Research

We must now turn to the critical question. What is the value, to the Commission, of the Action Research project?

In the first place, we believe that we may have accomplished something towards creating a consciousness of the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism within the Public



Service, and perhaps in the process, bringing about a more favourable climate towards change, merely by talking to departmental officials, listening to them as they defined, through discussion, how they saw their problems, and by helping them to enunciate practical programs. We tried to assist them to confront the issue on both the intellectual and administrative levels. And we would offer as one preliminary hypothesis that a resolution of some of the practical difficulties of bilingualism and biculturalism will do more to promote an intellectual grasp of the problem than the reverse. In other words, to try to solve a problem is one way to understand it.

Secondly, as we have noted, we isolated a number of practical courses of action which, if adopted as part of a comprehensive government program, could be effective in relieving specific problems in the field of bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service. Some of these have been explored only in idea form, others have been tested to some extent, but even where they never got off the drawing board, we have tapped the advice of practical administrators. These courses of action will be discussed in greater detail in ~~the report~~ and we hope may form the basis of some specific recommendations by the Commission.



We must state our opinion, however, that even if all of these courses of action were effected (and they represent all the feasible ideas senior government officials in fifteen departments, including some very major ones, came up with in our presence), they would not in themselves result in the kind of fundamental change which might reasonably be envisioned by the Commission. In the end, they amount to what one might call 'tinkering' with the system - adjustment, as opposed to real adaptation.

We suggest that there is a further way the Action Research experience may be of use. Two fundamental questions present themselves to the Commission: whether the Public Service is on the way to resolving the problem by itself, and what its reaction would be to an intensified campaign to introduce bilingualism and biculturalism into administrative practices. Both of these questions raise the matter of prevailing attitudes within the service since, particularly where the impetus for change originates from outside, antagonistic attitudes could seriously hinder any program.<sup>13</sup>

The initiative to adapt to a new situation may originate from within an organization, spontaneously, or it may be

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13. Marvin B. Sussman, "The Sociologist as a Tool of Social Action". Sociology in Action, ed. Arthur B Shostak, Dorsey Press, 1966. For illustration of the power of a public bureaucracy to resist attempts to introduce change, see S. M. Lipsett, Agrarian Socialism, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1950.



taken in response to external pressures. In either case, the course of events will be influenced by the structure of group attitudes, but in different ways. This requires some explanation of the relationship of attitudes to action.

The manifestation of attitudes in the Public Service is, in large part, a function of group interaction. That is to say, whatever personal attitudes may be held by individuals, their actual influence on policy formation takes place principally within the context of departmental activities, where the individual is subject to the influences of his peers and of departmental needs and traditions. But it should be remembered that, in a healthy working environment, there is a strong tendency for members of a group which works together to hold common attitudes on questions of importance to the group.<sup>14</sup> (Some psychologists go further to argue that attitudes occur as a result of group interaction, but it is not necessary to accept that position for the purpose of this argument). As result, knowing all the personal attitudes of people in a department is not a certain way of knowing what we might call the departmental attitude.

We might make this point another way.

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<sup>14</sup>. See Lazarsfeld and Katz, Personal Influence, The Free Press, 1955, for an excellent survey of research in this field.



For the purposes of exposition, we might single out four different personal attitudes to the introduction of a greater measure of bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service. The first we will call "overtly hostile". Since it is not uncommon for hostile attitudes to be disguised, we might term the second class "overtly favourable-covertly hostile". We shall call our third category "overtly-covertly favourable", but with the qualification that this attitude, though favourable, gives the matter a relatively low priority in relation to other concerns, and is therefore unlikely to result in follow-through on a program in the absence of stronger external motivating forces. Our fourth category is also "overtly-covertly favourable" but determined to follow through as a matter of high priority.

It will be readily apparent that these four different attitude structures will have very different mediating influences on the success of adaptation to bilingualism and biculturalism. One fact in particular, however, should be noted. In relation to the probability of initiatives occurring as the result of pressures coming from within, we need think only in terms of two categories, those who are prepared to go ahead and those who, for one reason or another, are not. This second group includes the first three categories described above.



Standard testing techniques will have no difficulty in distinguishing between hostile and favourable; it is quite possible, although more difficult, to detect where hostility is masked. They will have the greatest difficulty in distinguishing between the third and fourth categories, that is, between the degrees of commitment which lead to positive action, or on the other hand, fail to generate quite enough energy to break through the barriers of inertia, or of actual resistance.

The categorization of attitudes above is perfectly arbitrary in character: it would be more accurate to picture the distribution of attitudes along a continuum.

At a certain point on the continuum, we shall find attitudes sufficiently in favour of change to result in action which will overcome objective obstacles, such as Treasury Board resistance, ministerial disinterest, and so on.<sup>15</sup> The point of bisection will differ for each department,

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15. We leave out of account political factors, principally because the kind of attitude tests we have in mind, that is, courses of action identified by departments, did not necessarily require cabinet or ministerial approval. Deputy Ministers have the final executive say in a great number of matters. At the same time, since they also know that there are other things they cannot do without reference to the central agencies, they must decide which projects they want to push. The chances are good that Deputy Ministers will succeed in getting a high proportion of the things they determine to fight for with real determination. Which projects they are prepared to push represent a fair indication of their priorities and thus of their attitudes.



because in each case it will be determined by the interaction between positive negative attitudes from within the department and positive negative pressures from without.<sup>16</sup>

Whether any decision is made and becomes effective, therefore, is a function of two things, personal attitudes and objective circumstances.

In a way, what we are saying is that the best test of attitudes is what people do. Consider the case of a man who claims to be free of racial prejudice, but who, without being conscious of the fact, gives up his seat on a crowded bus to a white woman, but does not do so to a coloured woman. How is one to describe his attitude, according to what he says or what he does? Attitudes are not something which have a fixed reality; they are a function of a total social situation. It seems we need something new in the usual definition of attitude: for the purpose of our analysis, our definition will be that which is effective at the level of action.

16. Groups may be prepared to commit themselves to a certain point to get action. Whether they succeed depends both on the strength of their own drive and on the resistance they meet. Thus attitudes equally in favour of change in two departments may result in change in one, and not in the other, depending on circumstances. The converse also applies. Of course groups have attitudes on many subjects, often contradictory, and outside influences do not have only one source, or direction. What is important to know is not a profile of departmental attitudes alone, but whether they will lead to change, and that depends on a very complex cross-current of influences.



This point at which attitudes become effective in terms of actually being the springboard for action, cannot be discovered by opinion surveys: it must be determined experimentally. Action Research is a means of determining experimentally attitudes at the behavioural, as opposed to the verbal level. What we call the "course of action", because it is adapted to the circumstances of individual departments, is a disguised technique which permits an objective evaluation of attitudes, as we define them. The description of the fifteen departments, from this perspective, may be seen as so many case studies, which permit assessment of the attitudes in each, and by a process of extrapolation, some hint of probable attitudes in the Public Service as a whole. Action Research studies induced changes and measures their results.<sup>17</sup>

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17. A similar point is taken up by Amitai Etzioni in his book Modern Organizations, Prentice-Hall 1964 . "How does one determine what is the goal of an organization? In part the participants may act as informants... (however) we must carefully distinguish their personal goals from the goals of the collectivity... Commonly, (too) organizational leaders quite consciously express goals which differ from those actually pursued because such masking will serve the goals the organization actually pursues... The real goals of the organization (are) those future states toward which a majority of the organization(s) means and the major organizational commitments of the participants are directed, and which, in cases of conflict with goals which are stated but command few resources, have clear priority". (italics author's). Etzioni recommends, in determining real goals, interviews, supplemented by such things as inspection of minutes of meetings and other documents, and analysis of division of labour and budgetary allocation or resources. Our point is that Action Research was a more effective method to discover organizational goals in the Public Service in relation to bilingualism and biculturalism, because it was what some anthropologists call a "natural experiment".



To this point we have discussed remedial actions which originate as a result of internal decisions, and the probability of the Public Service solving the problem by itself. Of equal importance to the Commission is the ability to estimate the probable response of the Public Service to external pressure. Again, for illustration purposes, we might try to isolate two points on our continuum; at one end, active co-operation, at the other, positive resistance, and in between, passive co-operation.

Active	Passive	Active
Resistance	Co-operation	Co-operation

How attitudes cluster about these points again may only be determined objectively, by test. Since strong pressure has, in fact, never been exerted on the Public Service to become bilingual and bicultural, we cannot know positively how it would react if there were such pressure. Nevertheless, at least in part, Action Research findings may offer some indication.

It should be recalled that Action Research was itself an external pressure. Obviously, we could not claim the full weight of authority which a crash government program might exert. But a Royal Commission is not without authority, particularly moral authority, and we were not ignored in any quarter. Secondly, not all government programs hold equal



terror for public servants. They seem able to distinguish between government programs which are followed for form's sake, and those which are really meant. We believe that we were able to generate as much (we think more) pressure on the departments we visited than the government has done to date. Our results, then, if judged with caution, should offer some estimation of the probable Public Service reactions to intensified efforts to achieve greater bilingualism and biculturalism.

In addition to specific government pressure, there is a general environmental pressure, which is not so closely focussed but nevertheless real. The governmental system does not operate in a vacuum, obviously. Environmental pressure may exert profound influences on the success, or failure, of any internally initiated program. For example, indifference or hostility to the Public Service on the part of French Canadians could frustrate any government program. Later in this report we will offer an estimation, based on our conversations with departmental officials, of how strongly they felt environmental pressures and what form they took.

We have in this opening chapter laid out a scheme of analysis which may seem ambitious. We will not pretend to be fully satisfied with our evidence. As we have said, we



had to develop our methodology and our framework of analysis as we went. In the situation we have described, also, there were many uncontrolled variables, personality factors, perfectly extraneous things like strikes, and so on. We should like to have carried on the project longer than we did - ten months is all too short a time in which to carry our a project of this magnitude. Also, we were hedged about with some restrictions by the Commission. Nevertheless, with all these reservations, we believe our findings have merit and deserve careful study, keeping in mind the considerations we have stated.

The function of Action Research, as we see it, lies halfway between "explanation" and "anticipation". This does not mean that it is useless from both the theoretical and the practical points of view - but rather that its usefulness has to be gauged by reference to both. Action Research will not explain completely, or predict with certainty. But it does give those who engage in it something that comes between pure knowledge and practical efficiency, and that something is discrimination - or a kind of discrimination, which makes it possible to act a little less clumsily and with better understanding. Discrimination is, we would agree, an ambiguous virtue, depending on both knowledge and action, yet differing radically from either of these taken alone.



If nothing else, we hope to offer a basis for an educated guess at latent developments in process. Was it Claude Levi-Strauss who observed that "an action researcher should be able to hear the grass growing" as he works with groups?



Chapter IITRADITIONAL PROCESSES\*

"Experience tends universally to show that the purely bureaucratic type of administrative organization ... is, from a purely technical point of view, capable of attaining the highest degree of efficiency and is in this sense formally the most rational known means of carrying out imperative control over human beings ... Its development is ... the most crucial phenomenon of the modern Western state ... Without it, a society like our own ... could no longer function".  
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"The decisive reason for the advance of bureaucratic organization has always been its purely technical superiority over any other form of organization. The fully developed bureaucratic mechanism compares with other organizations exactly as does the machine with the non-mechanical modes of production". So did Max Weber describe modern large organization forty-five years ago.

\* This chapter is in some sense a detour. It attempts to set out some theoretical considerations which may hopefully put the problems examined in this report in a wider perspective. It does not purport to describe how the Public Service works. References to Max Weber and other writers are meant to challenge certain common assumptions. We do not ourselves imply that we either necessarily agree or disagree with what Weber and others say. This chapter may be thought of as a preface to Chapter V.

18. All quotations from Weber in this chapter are taken from two texts: Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated by A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 324-341; and Max Weber, Essays in Sociology, translated by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 196-244.



One doesn't repair a machine by talking to it. What then is the theoretical justification for the kind of group-oriented approach we described in our first chapter? What is the reason for attempting to change the bureaucratic system from within? The bureaucracy, in its pure form as described by Weber, is controlled from the top. What is served by dealing directly with the bureaucrats themselves?

The federal administration is central to the Commission's task; it may therefore be worthwhile to spend some time to place it in its historical perspective and within the framework of present day Canadian society. Such a consideration may also prove to be helpful in evaluating the Action Research findings.

#### The fundamental notion of bureaucracy

The mainstream of late nineteenth century European sociological thought was pre-occupied with the idea of large-scale mass society. The German sociologist, Tönnies, described two kinds of human grouping, one on the model of the living organism, which he called Gemeinschaft (Community), and which represented traditional life, and the other analogous to a constructed machine, Gesellschaft (Society). Gesellschaft was an inevitable derivation



from Gemeinschaft and was replacing it. With the growth of large organizations in the Society phase of development comes greater efficiency but, in the process, a price must be paid. The small primary groups which had traditionally made up the fabric of the community - the family, the village, the religious congregation, and all the web of intimate person-to-person relationships which had characterized that period of human life - must give way before the more ordered, rational, modern society. The typical member of this new society would be highly individualistic, motivated by the determination to further his own rational self-interest, in other words, alienated 'economic man', the atom of mass society. The typical institution of such a society is the bureaucracy.

The effectiveness of the bureaucratic institution in "carrying out imperative control over human beings" rests on the general acceptance of one vital principle, that of rationality, that is "a belief in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority) ... Obedience is owed to the legally established impersonal order", not to the persons who exercise the authority, except "by virtue of the formal



legality of their commands and only within the scope of authority of the office". "Modern loyalty is devoted to impersonal and functional purposes ... it does not establish a relationship to a person".

The fundamental basis of a bureaucratic authority, then, is a social contract, general agreement on a set of enforceable legal norms, on the grounds of either expediency or rational values. The rational body of law so created "consists essentially in a consistent system of abstract rules". The duty of the bureaucracy is to administer the application of the general precept to specific cases. Within this system, however, the individual has freedom because he owes allegiance to the law, not to the person who administers it. He is constrained to obey a person in authority, "only within the sphere of his rationally delimited authority".

What are the specific characteristics of the ideal-typical bureaucratic structure?

The "typical person in authority occupies an office". This means that "(1) the members of the administrative staff should be completely separated from ownership of the means of production or administration, (2) there is



complete separation of the property belonging to the organization ... and the personal property of the official, and (3) there is a corresponding separation of the place in which official functions are carried out, the 'office' in the sense of premises, from living quarters". Private life is emotional, and emotion has no place in the conduct of public business. "Administrative acts, decision, and rules are formulated and recorded in writing, even in cases where oral discussion is the rule or is mandatory". Spoken language is evanescent, and open to misinterpretation; written documents are fixed and permanent. Spoken language is full of emotional colour; written language is cool and rational.

Each office has a clearly defined sphere of competence in the legal sense, "which involves a sphere of obligations to perform functions which has been marked off as part of a systematic division of labour". "The regular activities required for the purposes of the bureaucratically governed structure are distributed in a fixed way as official duties. The authority to give the commands required for the discharge of these duties is distributed in a stable way and is strictly delimited by rules concerning the coercive means, physical, sacerdotal, or otherwise, which may be placed at the disposal of officials".



Employees "are organized in a clearly defined hierarchy of offices". "The principles of office hierarchy and of levels of graded authority mean a firmly ordered system of super- and subordination in which there is a supervision of the lower offices by the higher ones", which means a right of appeal by the citizen from any official's decision to a higher authority. The official, then, is "subject to strict and systematic discipline and control in the conduct of the office". This does not mean, however, that "the higher authority is simply authorized to take over the business of the 'lower'. Indeed the opposite is the rule. Once established and having fulfilled its task, an office tends to continue in existence and be held by another incumbent". Authority is not the arbitrary prerogative of those of higher levels, officials are "subject to authority only with respect to their impersonal official obligations".

Office-holding "constitutes a career". "Official activity demands the full working capacity of the official", "the office is treated as the sole, or at least the primary, occupation of the incumbent". "The position of the official is in the nature of a duty". "Candidates are selected on the basis of technical qualifications.



In the most rational case, this is tested by examination or guaranteed by diplomas certifying technical training, or both. They are appointed, not elected". Furthermore, "the management of the office follows general rules, which are more or less stable, more or less exhaustive, and which can be learned".

"Officials are remunerated by fixed salaries in money, for the most part with a right to pensions. Only under certain circumstances does the employing authority ... have the right to terminate the appointment, but the official is always free to resign. The salary scale is primarily graded according to rank in the hierarchy; but in addition to this criterion, the responsibility of the position and the requirements of the incumbent's social status may be taken into account. There is a system of promotion according to seniority or to achievement, or both. Promotion is dependent on the judgement of superiors". Finally, "whether he is in a private office or a public bureau, the modern official always strives (for) and usually enjoys a distinct social esteem as compared with the governed. His social position is guaranteed by the prescriptive rules of rank order ... Normally, the position of the official is held for life, at least in



public bureaucracies. Where legal guarantees against arbitrary dismissal or transfer are developed, they merely serve to guarantee a strictly objective discharge of specific duties free from all personal consideration".

Even the personality of the officials is regulated. "The dominance of a spirit of formalistic impersonality, 'Sine ira et studio', without hatred or passion and hence without affection or enthusiasm. The dominant norms are concepts of straightforward duty without regard to personal considerations. Everyone is subject to formal equality of treatment; that is, everyone in the same empirical situation. This is the spirit in which the ideal official conducts his office".

"The reduction of modern office management to rules is deeply imbedded in its very nature. The theory of modern public administration, for instance, assumes that the authority to order certain matters by decree - which has been legally granted to public authorities - does not entitle the bureau to regulate the matter by commands given for each case, but only to regulate the matter abstractly. This stands in extreme contrast to the regulation of all relationships through individual privileges and bestowals of favor, which is absolutely dominant



in patrimonialism, at least in so far as such relationships are not fixed by sacred tradition".

Weber's model is not intended to be a description of bureaucracy composed of its average features, but a theoretical construct of those features which, in his view, are unique to and typical of this peculiar development of this period of human history.

What is its value in the present study?

In the first place the model has a value because many, perhaps most, public servants see themselves as belonging to an organization which conforms more or less to a model something like Weber's. They accept this kind of orderly, rational structure, broadly, as legitimate. Belief in the existence of a certain kind of organization is a powerful influence on behaviour.

On the surface at least, there is much to confirm their belief; a summary inspection of the features listed above shows that almost all are relevant to our present Civil Service. Other things not mentioned, such as the central control agencies, the C.S.C. and T.B. are quite consistent with the model and represent mere extensions



of it. Such things as pension plans, promotion by merit, however, even specialization of labour and hierarchic authority, are merely the superficial trapping of a bureaucracy, the visible signs.

#### The central position of efficiency

There is a more important resemblance. As we will see in the next chapter, it was our experience that one of the most strongly entrenched norms in the Public Service is that of efficiency. Whatever the shortcomings in the actual operation we are admitted to at any given moment, civil servants hold most strongly to the view that their kind of bureaucracy (or since the word has unfortunate connotations, they might call it government administration or public service; it seems even 'civil service' is to be jettisoned), is in the long run the most efficient way to carry on the government's business of running the country.

This idea of efficiency needs a closer look. It will be seen that the notion of efficiency is linked to the idea of aggregates and averages. Government organization is a way of dealing with large constituencies so as to give the best average results in the greatest



number of cases. It is the total picture that is important, not any single individual case. Economists adhere to this philosophy when they talk about such things as Gross National Product and Average Net Increment. Individuals may suffer on occasion, even while the total economy flourishes.

"Bureaucracy inevitably accompanies modern mass democracy in contrast to the democratic self-government of small homogeneous units. This results from the characteristic principle of bureaucracy: the abstract regularity of the execution of authority, which is a result of the demand for 'equality before law' in the personal and functional sense - hence, of the horror of 'privilege', and the principled rejection of doing business '<sup>19</sup>from case to case'.

Bureaucratic efficiency makes its gains in precision, stability and reliability by its emphasis on standardiza-  
<sup>20</sup>tion.

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19. Max Weber, Essays in Sociology; p. 224.

20. The analogy to mass-produced goods in contrast to handicrafts is the obvious one.



But while bureaucratic procedures may lead to overall efficiency, they may also falter under certain conditions. Centralized economic planning, for instance, has been under attack lately because of severe regional lags in a picture of general prosperity.

Another interesting example of bureaucratic failure of recent date was the case of the Eskimo murders, where empiric commonsense pointed clearly to one decision, but the courts were obliged to follow the course of rational justice, even though it led to a nonsensical result. The problem in this case was the excessively great disparity in the societal norms concerning murder between Eskimo society and the larger society. Bureaucratic rationalization works best, then, in a society with basic common norms. A society which is, in fact, bicultural presents special problems, precisely because the law of averages fails to take account of the two standards. This is a point of very great importance to which we shall want to return in our last chapter.

Weber, in fact, goes somewhat further. "The property-less masses especially are not served by a formal 'equality before the law' and a 'calculable' adjudication and



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and administration, as demanded by 'bourgeois' interests". In other words, for any group, large or small, which has suffered from an imbalance in the distribution of property, and is trying to redress the balance, the bureaucracy <sup>22</sup> in existence makes a poor ally. "The sure instincts of the bureaucracy for the conditions of maintaining its power in its own state ... and inseparably fused with the canonization of the abstract and 'objective' idea of <sup>23</sup> 'reason of state'".

A culturally distinct, economically disfavoured group, if we follow Weber's reasoning, may hope for little from an entrenched bureaucracy. Is Weber accurate? If he is, how closely does our Public Service correspond to his classic formulation? And are there really two basic sets of values in Canada?

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21. Weber, Essays in Sociology, P. 221.

22. Murry Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1964, p. 117. "In a study of public housing policy and politics in Chicago, Meyerson and Banfield concluded that the political machine was consistently more favourable to the interests of those with relatively low incomes than the "reform" groups working for efficient, rationalized and businesslike procedures in government". Edelman devotes some time to a consideration of 'rational' justice as against 'empiric' justice, or Kodi-justice, as Weber called it.

23. Weber, Essays in Sociology, p. 220.



One test for this last question might be precisely the attitude towards efficiency which the two major linguistic groups manifest. Weber, like Tönnies, distinguishes between rational society and the traditional community. The former is guided by law, the latter by traditional values, generally religious in origin. The former concentrates on action at the level of the central state, in the interests of efficiency; the latter on the smallest possible group, if possible the family, in the interests of the traditional concern for certain values.

English Canada, French Canada and Bureaucracy: The power of history to influence behaviour

Obviously no complex modern society and certainly neither part of Canada, is completely rational or completely traditional. To use such terms as rational or traditional is to talk about tendencies. Nevertheless, anyone who has studied, let us say the Rowell-Sirois report on the one hand, and the Tremblay report on the other, must be conscious of deep value differences between the two linguistic groups. At the same time, our observations of Public Service opinion indicate efficiency to be a key norm. One may wonder how well the true bureaucrat would understand



the philosophy of Tremblay, or if he understood it, how much sympathy he would feel for it. And we know the efficiency argument advanced by the federal government, in relation to health programs has been rejected by Quebec, even though Tremblay is now thought out of date by the more modern people in Quebec's administration.

We are not trying to say the present Quebec government is any longer less "rational" than the government of Ottawa. We do believe there are powerful historical factors at work, which are related to attitudes towards efficiency and to the larger principle of rationality itself.

Rational organization, Weber prophesized, would overcome and replace traditional forms wherever the two came into conflict, because of its superior efficiency. This view may have been accepted by members of both linguistic groups in Canada, but have led to divergences in the conclusions they drew from it. To English Canada, it has pointed the way of the future and been a source of confidence and feeling of being in the mainstream of progress; to the more traditionally-oriented French Canada, it has been a threat.



One key is the matter of education. "Naturally, bureaucracy promotes a 'rationalist' way of life ... bureaucratization ... strongly furthers the development of 'rational matter-of-factness' and the personality type of the professional expert. This has far-reaching ramifications, but only one important element of the process can be briefly indicated here: its effect upon the nature of training and education. Educational institutions on the European continent, especially the institutions of higher learning - the universities, as well as technical academies, business colleges, gymnasiums, and other middle schools - are dominated and influenced by the need for the kind of 'education' that produced a system of special examinations and the trained expertness that is increasingly indispensable for modern bureaucracy".<sup>24</sup>

"Behind all the present discussion of the foundations of the educational system, the struggle of the 'specialist type of man' against the older type of 'cultivated man' is hidden at some decisive point. This fight is determined by the irresistably expanding bureaucratization of all public and private relations of authority and by the ever-increasing importance of expert and specialized knowledge. This fight intrudes into all intimate cultural questions".<sup>25</sup>

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24. Weber, Essays in Sociology, p. 240.

25. Ibid, p. 243



This reasoning, we believe, underlies one common English-speaking view towards Quebec and its system of education. The rational society is a superior form of human organization, this point of view holds, both because it is more efficient, and because it is the necessary condition of mass democracy. In any case, it will inevitably predominate in the future. Quebec's stubborn retention of its traditional patterns was, at best, a failure to adapt to modern needs, at worst, sheer perversity. And its schools' failure to produce the kind of individuals required by public and private bureaucracies, exempted French-Canadians from an equitable share in the governing of the country by the force of their own choice. They should not complain when the jobs go to the English. This argument might continue: Quebec has lately begun to 'catch up', which is to say, to accept as valid the principle of rationality, and its schools have addressed themselves to training technically competent candidates for bureaucratic positions. Unfortunately they continue to exhibit signs of perversity. Opting out of such things as health plans is to fly in the face of the obvious benefits to be gained by a rationally organized national plan, with its advantages in efficiency.



Within this perspective, one would expect some consternation on the part of public servants to demands to become bilingual and bicultural. We might anticipate an acceptance of the idea of providing bilingual services to the public, where it was clear that they were required. The notion of conducting internal operations bilingually presumably could be grasped, although one could predict resistance. However, the concept of biculturalism would be most likely to evoke simple puzzlement. We shall see in the next chapter how accurate these assessments prove to be.

To Quebec society, the matter would look different. To the degree that it was a truly traditionalist society, the very concept of rationalist society, let alone its overwhelming physical presence in its midst, must have been profoundly threatening. To the extent that Quebec society was a mixture of traditional and rational values, attitudes to modern large organization would be expected to be ambivalent at both the societal and the personal level. The 'enemy without' could look for an ally in the 'enemy within'. We have noted the comparative advantages



of one type of organization in a struggle with the other. To retain the deepest values of one's own traditions, in the face of such a presence, requires ever-increasing energies. One must fight feelings of inevitable defeat in the end. And even as the traditional society begins to succumb, as it eventually must (if we believe Weber), to the values of rational society, it may still retain its distrust of the actual institutions which it has always identified as embodying those values. Does this explain some of Quebec's traditional feelings to Ottawa, we might ask, or to St. James Street with its corporate boardrooms, or to McGill, with its old associations with rationalism. All this assumes a great strength of traditional values in the mainstream of Quebec life, without being exclusive.

Because, if we are to believe Weber, there is little use in trying to fight the entrenched bureaucracy. "Once it is fully established, bureaucracy is among those social structures which are the hardest to destroy ... As an instrument for 'societalizing' relations of power, bureaucracy has been and is a power instrument of the first order - for the one who controls the bureaucratic apparatus ... Where the bureaucratization of administration has



been completely carried through, a form of power relation  
is established that is practically unshatterable".<sup>26</sup>

Indeed, once established, there is a question whether anyone can claim to be fully in charge of a bureaucracy. For one thing, it controls knowledge - technical, specialized knowledge, and also knowledge of facts and documentary material which has been accumulated.<sup>27</sup> Secondly, every bureaucracy seeks to increase the superiority of the professionally informed by keeping their knowledge and intentions secret. "In facing a parliament, the bureaucracy, out of a sure power instinct, fights every attempt of the parliament to gain knowledge by means of its own experts or from interest groups ... Bureaucracy naturally welcomes a poorly informed and hence a powerless parliament".<sup>28</sup> "The question is always who controls the existing bureaucratic machinery. And such control is possible only in a very limited degree to persons who are not technical specialists. Generally speaking, the

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26. Weber, Essays in Sociology, p. 288.

27. This may be very close to what is so often described as 'merit'.

28. Ibid, p. 233.



trained permanent official is more likely to get his way in the long run than his nominal superior, the Cabinet minister, who is not a specialist".<sup>29</sup>

What is a society like Quebec to do in the face of such a situation? For that too, Weber has the answer. "When those subject to bureaucratic control seek to escape the influence of the existing bureaucratic apparatus, this is normally possible only by creating an organization of their own which is equally subject to the pressure of bureaucratization".<sup>30</sup> In other words, fight bureaucracy with bureaucracy. Is this the meaning of the "quiet revolution"?<sup>31</sup>

Apart from its historical importance, what do we learn about the workings of bureaucracy?

#### How much do we learn from Weber?

Weber's bureaucracy in some way is like the super-structure of a great mansion. There, precisely ennumerated, are the walls and the windows and the roof and that's the

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29. Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, p. 338.

30. Ibid, p. 338.

31. Note Weber, Essays in Sociology, p. 244: "Everywhere its origin and its diffusion have had revolutionary effects".



shape of the chimney all right, and there's even a blueprint of the rooms and corridors, but it doesn't tell us much of what the tenants are doing inside. The inmates' habits seem regular enough, but what is really going on? Can it possibly be that mechanical?

The trouble with building machines out of human beings is that they tend to be only as rational as the human beings who go to make them up. Weber suggests the bureaucratic system can push humans pretty far. "The specific nature (of bureaucracy), which is welcomed by capitalism, develops the more perfectly the bureaucracy is "dehumanized", the more completely it succeeds in eliminating from official business love, hatred, and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements which escape calculation. This is the specific nature of bureaucracy and it is appraised as its special virtue".<sup>32</sup>

One is prepared to grant a good deal. The pressure to follow the rules, to be 'methodical, prudent, disciplined' may lead to increasingly automatic, conformist behaviour, or what Veblen called 'trained incapacity'.

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32. Weber, Essays in Sociology, p. 216.



Trained incapacity refers to that state of affairs in which one's abilities function as inadequacies or blind spots. Actions based upon training and skills which have been successfully applied in the past may result in inappropriate responses under <sup>33</sup> changed conditions (italics ours).

The ideal bureaucracy it seems, once set up, goes on forever, administering the same rules in the same way, over and over, ordering every phenomenon of life more and more logically, and with less and less human interference.

But there has to be limit. If nothing else, our common sense tells us there is something wrong. We shall offer in a moment what seems to be a more realistic description of the internal working of an administration.

What is important in Weber is the historical perspective. What he described in such harsh bold outlines a half century ago has become the typical feature of the

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33. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structures, Free Press, 1957. Merton's section on the effects of bureaucracy on behaviour are worth careful reading in full.



twentieth century, that is to say the omnipresence of corporately-organized life. Corporate life in the twentieth century does require certain specific regularities of behaviour which are unique to it, and which have given rise to such popular typifications as 'the organization man', 'the man in the grey flannel suit', or 'other-directed man'. It is based on rational principles of systematization, which are a most effective means of controlling the environment, and which lead some observers to wonder if the whole of society may not come to be controlled by the great corporation.<sup>34</sup>

In fact, corporate life has become so much a feature of our ordinary life that we easily forget how recently its distinctively modern form appeared on the scene. It was not the prevalent mode in Canada at the time of Confederation, for example, although undoubtedly its imminent growth might have been evident to those who knew what to look for. Because, of course, organizations built around rational principles of the kind we have been describing did not suddenly emerge on the scene. Many factors, intellectual, social, and economic, converged over a period of time to lead to their prevalence in

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34. Cf. C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite, Oxford University Press, 1956.



Western society. The critical thing in Canadian history is that the acceptance of corporate life by the two parts of Canada was out of phase, with consequences which are profound, even though they are hard to measure.

It is true that societies cannot be characterized simply as one thing or the other. English Canada, like French Canada, is a complex blend of traditional and rational tendencies, and many others, but it is nevertheless true to say that the growth of corporate norms occurred in English Canada considerably before it did in French Canada, and found a more receptive bed of inherited values in which to flourish than the traditional values of French Canada could provide. It is possible to say this even remembering that the origins of Quebec were closely intertwined with the fur trade and that later, G.E. Cartier was one of the great business promoters of Confederation. So we are talking historically not only about the dominance of one kind of society by another, in which there was a clash of profoundly antipathetic values. Patronage, for example, is a system which grew out of older patrimonial values that were legitimate and humane within the context of that society. It was still the prevailing mode of government in eighteenth century



England (Walpole might have taught even Duplessis a thing or two), and it has continued to exist to the present day in the more traditional parts of English Canada. But to the bureaucratic mind it is the ultimate heresy.

Quebec has become more and more "modern". Yet its 'allure' is not the same as English Canada's. What we might call the 'mix' of traditional and modern values is still different, with all that that implies in its effects on behaviour and thought. It could hardly be otherwise. The two societies have evolved in different ways for too long. It is possible to argue the two value systems are converging, but there is no sign the groups  
35 are yet prepared for mutual assimilation.

The Public Service of Canada is a product of English Canada. It is permeated by English Canadian values. French Canadians talk about the English Canadian 'mentality' in the Public Service, and it is apparent that such a thing exists, although we would not want to attempt to describe it. There is a prevailing style which is strongly imbedded and self-confident. It is doubtful if even a

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35. Cf. Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, pp. 111-12.



considerable inflow of French Canadians would have an immediate effect on that style. It is a certain thing, at least, that French Canadians who come in one by one will be assimilated, one by one, as things stand.

What are the prospects that an organization with such strongly held values can adapt to accept elements of another culture? What are the chances that French Canadians in considerable numbers will be prepared to enter an organization so thoroughly permeated with an alien value system, in which they are certain to lose their cultural identity, at least as things are now? And unless French Canadians do enter the service in numbers, what hope is there for change any other way? These are questions which began to take shape during our experience and which we shall have in our mind as we review the description of our contacts with the departments.

#### A second theory of organization

Weber made a distinction between traditional, charismatic and rational authority in describing how organizations function at the human level. We prefer to follow another lead and talk about the transition from 'traditional' to 'adaptive' society.



Bureaucracies are not such rigid structures as is popularly assumed. Their organization does not remain fixed according to the formal blueprint, but always evolves into new forms. Conditions change, problems arise, and in the course of coping with them, the members of the organization establish new procedures and often transform their social relationships, thereby modifying the structure ... Bureaucracy in operation appears quite different from the abstract portrayal of its formal structure. Many official rules are honored in the breach; the members of the organization act as human beings - often friendly and sometimes annoyed - rather than like dehumanized impersonal machines.<sup>36</sup>

This is an idea of bureaucracy of a very different kind than we have been considering. It represents one modern view.

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36. Peter M. Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society, Random House, 1956, p. 57.



Weber's emphasis on rationalism was shared by his contemporaries. If one began from the premise that mass society was replacing old community ways, it was easy to go on to assume that evidences of the persistence of patterned informal relationships, such as families, religious communities, work groups, etc., represented mere vestiges of the old ways and would vanish in due time. The two phenomena, primary group life and modern mass society, were treated as logically antithetical and empirically incompatible. Among those who accepted this view were certain industrial psychologists.

It was supposed that the worker must be studied as an isolated unit; that in certain important respects he resembled a machine whose efficiency could be scientifically estimated; and that the main factors influencing his efficiency were

- (a) wasteful or ineffectual movements in doing his job,
- (b) fatigue, which was believed to be a physico-chemical state of the body due to the accumulation of waste products, and



(c) defects in the physical environment,  
 such as poor lighting, inadequate heating,  
<sup>37</sup>  
 excessive humidity, and so on.

A series of experiments conducted by Harvard psychologist Elton Mayo from 1924 to 1927, which are now known as the Hawthorne experiments (they took place in the Western Electric factory in Hawthorne, Illinois), led him gradually to question the accuracy of this point of view. None of the factors mentioned above helped to explain the workers' reactions. He was forced to conclude something else was the critical factor.

The worker's attitude toward his work, his belief in its worthwhileness, and his readiness to accept the orders of his superiors depended in turn on the extent to which he was a member of an intimate group consisting of his workmates - i.e. those working on the same team with him, or working individually but in sufficiently close proximity to him for informal and <sup>38</sup> solidary social relations to be established.

37. J.A.C. Brown, Social Psychology of Industry, p. 69.

38. Edward A. Shils, "The Study of the Primary Group" in The Policy Sciences, ed. Lerner and Laswell, Stanford University Press, 1951, p. 48.



Not only were feelings of belonging to a small working group more important than the physical conditions of work, it appeared, they were in certain ways also more important than economic motives.

From these insights, Mayo went on to perceive the possibility of a positive relation between the primary group and the formal hierachial structure, which might lead to new modes of structural integration. He developed the idea of an "adaptive" society, in which small primary groups have a special function in maintaining equilibrium within the larger institutional framework.

Since that time an impressive body of evidence has been gathered which lends support to Mayo's thesis concerning the influence of the internal working of the primary face-to-face group on the pattern of group relations which have been formally prescribed by bureaucratic authority, and the problems of relationships between primary group and institution.

W. Lloyd Warner, analyzing a strike in his "Yankee City" series, showed the strike was due to the disintegration of primary-group ties between various ranks in the technical and managerial hierarchy within the factory.



A number of other investigators came to much the same conclusion in other situations, namely that efficient operations depended on a healthy system of primary group relationships, which normally occur naturally as the result of human interactions on the job. When there is a serious disruption of this working group participation, the result is a loss of efficiency,  
<sup>39</sup> and in some cases complete breakdown.

A very ambitious series of studies which were carried out on the American army during the war under the direction of Samuel Stouffer carried this investigation of the role of primary groups further. What they concluded was that military morale and efficiency depended on a strong network of primary groups more than on adherence to 'patriotic' loyalties or other motives associated with the larger institutions. What gave soldiers in combat cohesion appeared to be their need to protect their primary group and conform with its expectations. In some instances where troops found themselves isolated on Pacific Islands for a considerable period of time, formal authority broke

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39. A vivid illustration of the dependence of large organizations on informal patterns of behaviour is the havoc which ensues from "work-to-rule" campaigns, almost as effective in their way as strikes.



down completely and a whole new informal organization appeared, with actually improved efficiency and morale.

The military machine thus obtains its inner cohesion not simply by a series of commands controlling the behaviour of soldiers disciplined to respect the symbols of formal authority, but rather through a system of overlapping primary groups. The effective transmission and execution of commands along the formal line of authority can be successful only when it coincides with this system of  
40 informal groups.

It would be possible to give other illustrations which point to much the same conclusion. The article from which we have quoted is by Edward Shils and, while somewhat dated, it gives an excellent survey of research in the area. The central point should be clear enough. Shils expresses it thus:

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40. Edward A. Shils, op. cit., p.64.



Individuals who are members of larger social structures make their decisions and concert their actions within those structures, not by the direct focus of attention on the central authority and the agents who bear the symbols of that authority, but rather by identification with some individual with whom they have primary-group relationships and who serves to transmit to them ideas from and concerning  
41 the larger structure.

Some of the particular reasons are not difficult to see.

Individuals conform and in return receive acceptance and friendship. The need to find a compatible group, among whom one is at ease, is usually very great. This need for affection and protection in turn leads to conformist behaviour since experiment shows individuals are accepted as they in turn are prepared to accept the standards of the group.

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41. Shils, Primary Group, p. 67.



Secondly, within the large organization, there is a tendency for people to be grouped in ways which throw individuals with a common background and training together, geologists with other geologists, lawyers with lawyers, and so on. The consciousness of basic interests in common reinforces the natural pressures to develop common standards.

Thirdly, a more or less great substructure of shared perceptions, of "seeing" things in the same way, is necessary to ease communication. Only a certain amount can be communicated by human beings at any given time, and without minimum unspoken agreement on most things, too much time is wasted by beginning with first principles each time a conversation is carried on.

A web of primary group relationships, it thus seems, is the fabric out of which every large organization is cut. However, we should be careful of trying to explain everything by reference to small groups; the temptation to explain everything by a theory of the importance of small groups roles is as deceptive as its opposite, but a study of their role does help to tell us what goes on in Weber's mansion. And it offers an unambiguous justification for the group-oriented approach to research which characterized Action Research.



We might in this perspective accept Peter Blau's definition of bureaucracy:

Bureaucracy ... can be defined as organization that maximizes efficiency in administration, whatever its formal characteristics, or as an instruction-alized method of organizing social conduct in the interest of administrative efficiency.<sup>42</sup>

Such a definition leads to a re-evaluation of what are the most effective means of dealing with problems which arise in the course of administration, particularly that class of problems in which adaptation to bilingualism and biculturalism is to be found.

(The removal of obstacles) cannot be accomplished by a pre-conceived system of rigid procedures ... but only by creating conditions favorable to continuous adjustive development in the organization. To establish such a pattern of self-adjustment in a bureaucracy, conditions must prevail that encourage its members to cope with emergent problems and to find the best method for producing specified results on their own

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42. Peter M. Blau, op. cit., p. 60.



initiative, and that obviate the need for unofficial practices which thwart the objectives of the organization.<sup>43</sup>

With this formulation we are in the strongest possible agreement. We think it makes a realistic assessment of the manner in which effective change is accomplished in the Public Service, by the people who understand its operations well. At the same time, we must say that in our experience, there seems to be a very great number of public servants, or at least there was a high proportion among those we met, who seem to adhere in their thinking to a kind of Weberian mythology. It seems the old bureaucratic ethos is still a potent factor in the Ottawa scene. Part of the problem in dealing with bilingualism and biculturalism in the continuing strength of that older style of thinking.<sup>44</sup> Any program of action which is proposed should, in our opinion, be built around the adjustive concept, which offers the maximum possibilities of real change.

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43. Blau, Modern Society, P. 60.

44. For an illustration of planning, old-style, see the report of the Inter-Departmental Committee in Chapter IV p. 197.



Is a bilingual, bicultural Public Service practical?

One last point is worth considering before turning to the description of the Action Research experience. There is evidence from the Stouffer study of the American army at war that the system completely breaks down only when, for one reason or another, primary groups cannot be formed. One of the factors which may cause difficulties in such primary-groups formation are linguistic barriers, as the Army studies demonstrated. Studies by E.C. Hughes in Chicago also dealt with the relationship between immigrant linguistic groups and primary group formation. Such considerations lend theoretical force to the observed difficulties experienced in situations where English Canadians and French Canadians are mixed in the same office in which they are required to work together. One may at least ask in purely theoretical terms whether it is possible to maintain a stable efficient overall organization in which there is permanent friction at the working group level because of language difficulties. The answer to such a question must be empirical: a great deal more study and testing will be needed before the problems of face-to-face bilingual working relationships can be fully understood. If the government seriously



considers a program to introduce bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service, it should consider such a research program as a matter of priority. What evidence we were able to garner came largely from the regrettably much-publicized internal Action Research project. Much was said about the incident: that it was badly handled, that the views expressed were unrepresentative, that it created a forum for crackpots and so on. We regret the public denial which was released because we believe that the experiment turned up some of our most interesting results. Since the Commission was in itself such an interesting laboratory of human relations, a unique opportunity may have been lost in not devoting more study to its own operations. We do suggest that anyone who is interested in the difficulties of primary group formation in a bilingual setting should study the edited account of the final discussion which was held and which is to be found in Appendix V. We think the people who took part, of both languages, were above average in intelligence and goodwill, they did their best to assess their experience honestly and a careful inspection of their remarks will suggest some of the permanent difficulties of communication, in total terms, which could be built into a bilingual, bicultural administration.



CHAPTER IIITHE ACTION RESEARCH EXPERIENCE: A DESCRIPTION

Certain problems are presented in describing the Action Research experience. For one thing, no common pattern emerged in our dealings with the departments: in some cases we had numerous meetings with them, interviews, discussions, telephone conversations and correspondence over a period of many months; in others our contacts were brief. Not all the departments were of the same size, nor did all have their operations in the City of Ottawa. The question then is how to draw the descriptions of these experiences together so that they become meaningful.

We have decided that the simplest way would be to break the descriptive data down into 5 problem areas:

- (1) Environment
- (2) Recruitment
- (3) Translation and Language Use
- (4) Language Training
- (5) Administration

This device necessarily involves some repetition since most departments at one time or another discussed each of the



problem areas. Most often the departments concentrated their attention on one area. For this reason we feel that this break-down of the data is the most economical way of reporting our findings.

However, because each department has its organizational peculiarities, the problem area of Administration has not been totally summarized, but is done by departments to take into account their organizational character.

(1) Environment

The question of environment may seem to be too large and vague for individual departments to cope with. Nevertheless, most departments in Ottawa raised it as a matter of great importance to them. The problem was brought up in different ways, but hardly any Ottawa department we visited failed to mention the unfortunate effects of the Ottawa environment on recruitment and retention of personnel, because of the general unattractiveness of Ottawa from the point of view of the French Canadian and in particular, its lack of culture. French Canadians themselves commented more on the lack of educational facilities. Some departments were conscious of the bad image which the federal government itself has in parts of Quebec, particularly among the student body, where most departments must turn when they are recruiting.



In many cases, we were able to nudge the discussion away from the question of the over-all Ottawa environment into a consideration of the intra-departmental situation, which seemed to be a more fruitful area for developing courses of action.

For example, we held an initial meeting with the Deputy Minister of one large, complex department early in July 1965. This was a man of suavity and experience and he responded warmly to our approach. What was needed, he said, was for English Canadians to have to work in French for a while and then they would begin to appreciate the problems the French Canadians have in working in English. He liked the idea of in-service training programs in French and he quoted to us the initiatives that had been taken by the Public Service in Arnprior where some departmental courses were being given in French.

Shortly afterwards, we held a group discussion in the department with a number of the department's top officials. They, too, were enthusiastically in favour of the idea of sensitizing people to the human problems involved: they thought it would be particularly healthy for the lower levels of the Public Service who were, they said, still somewhat antagonistic towards bilingualism and biculturalism. They had other suggestions, for example, to post employees to



French-speaking areas, either in Canada or abroad, where they would gain not only language practice but a deepening appreciation of the other culture. Furthermore, the group felt that more tolerance and politeness was needed between the English and French in the department. Indeed, the Deputy Minister went so far as to offer to hold cocktail parties!

At this point, we felt most encouraged because ideas seemed to be flowing freely and there was apparent willingness to think in a fresh new way about the problem. Following our first discussion group, the department established a sub-committee to consider systematically possible initiatives in the field of bilingualism and biculturalism; they prepared a formal report stating what they thought should be the departmental objectives, one of their stated desiderata being:

"To enable officers of either French-Canadian or English-Canadian language and culture to feel fully at home in the Department and be able to communicate in his own language in operational, administrative or personal matters."

In a meeting of the full committee on B. and B. (to which we were invited), the chairman, a French Canadian, made a symbolic gesture of opening the meeting in French, although he deliberately spoke slowly. In spite of this



initial effort, the discussion centered primarily on how to make bilingual services to the public more effective. The concept of a bicultural department was not seriously discussed by the committee members. In fact, one administrator felt there was no great problem in this area, for he said he was perfectly at home with M. Lesage in federal-provincial conferences. Therefore, the concern for improvement in the bicultural atmosphere seemed at this time to be expressed only by vague statements of goodwill. Thus, as the committee began to look into the question more carefully, it found itself less and less enthusiastic about taking bold steps and actual programs of action proved to be slow in developing.

This was one department, however, which showed itself to be aware of the necessity of doing something to keep English-speaking attitudes open in the department. Their sub-committee report noted:

"Staff attitudes are unpredictable and great care must be taken not to give the feeling that anyone will be 'forced' to become bilingual or will be fired or denied promotion because of unilingualism."

At a later date, it was suggested that the departmental newsletter be used as a vehicle for allaying the staff's fear of the department's current preoccupation with bilingualism and biculturalism.



Although the B. and B. sub-committee meetings began to prove rather disappointing as they exhibited increasing caution, the department took one concrete step: after a considerable amount of negotiation, the department attached a permanent secretary to its committee with, we were told, special access to the Deputy Minister. Given the principle set down by the sub-committee that 'members of the French language group should be able to feel 'at home' in the Public Service ... by virtue of being able to communicate each in his own language', the secretary had a number of conversations with us about how to proceed to bring about this condition. One idea which emerged was to begin by interviewing a selection of people in the department to ensure that any program which emerged would be based on a realistic assessment of attitudes in the department. Unfortunately, at this point, the department found itself caught up in a series of disruptive changes and activity in the field of bilingualism and biculturalism was hindered.

One thing, incidentally, we might note about the process by which the bilingual secretary was appointed: the department proved to be extremely reluctant to approach Treasury Board about creating a post specifically to be designated for bilingualism and biculturalism duties; instead they managed to transfer someone already on staff



and by using the innocuous title of secretary, avoided any out-and-out confrontation of Treasury Board.

Early in 1966, the department entered a period which was marked by a major recruitment drive. Obviously a more bilingual and bicultural environment in the department might have been an excellent selling point and the department was aware of it. Our impression, however, was that after an early burst of enthusiasm and some definite steps, not a great deal has been accomplished and not much activity is underway.

If we had been encouraged at the beginning by the last department, the next one we describe gave us an even stronger feeling of initial openness to change. Again we discovered a lively awareness of the problem on the part of the top management. There were complaints about losing competent French Canadians to the Province of Quebec and the difficulty of attracting replacements to Ottawa because they found the atmosphere of the city uncongenial.

Again, in the first discussion group, ideas about how to change the situation flowed quite freely. One of them was the notion of orientation sessions for senior executives from which a deeper understanding of the problem might develop. It was also felt that a course for the lower-level civil servants might be built around the problems of



serving a bicultural society; and again, as in the former department, there was concern about how to deal with possible English-Canadian misconceptions regarding French-Canadian employees.

We kept in close touch with the department: for example, we interviewed a senior French-Canadian officer who revealed that a group of English and French employees had met to discuss bilingualism and biculturalism. He emphasized the need to improve interpersonal relations and had in mind a better image for recruitment purposes, but this French Canadian cautioned against rapid change and advised that progress must be based on goodwill.

Cultural orientation came up again at another meeting and this time the department was interested in learning about the experience of industrial firms in sensitivity training, as it is sometimes called, and other techniques, with an eye to their possible adaptation to the Public Service in cultural orientation programs.

Later, we arranged to have the two most senior people in the department meet some upper management officials in Montreal. At this Montreal meeting, the governmental officials were told that sensitivity training had become a permanent and important process for management orientation



progress, and that it was imperative to start at the top. The department came back impressed by what it learned; we received a letter giving their reactions soon afterwards:

"I have been at least exposed in rudimentary terms to these ideas some considerable while ago, but our discussion in Montreal served me to bring them forward to my consciousness once again, and this time I would like to pursue the matter far enough to make a conscious decision as to how far we could, and should, usefully go, in exploiting them."

Unfortunately, they considered it as one of those matters that could be classified as 'important, but not urgent'. Since that time (July 1965) no formal steps have been taken by the department to develop further in this line.

The department did, however, continue to be concerned with improving bilingualism in order to provide a working environment which permitted French Canadians to speak French. They say this as a clear departmental objective and they hoped that this policy - and eventually, practice - could be publicized and would make recruitment easier. The Deputy Minister of this department outlined one of his own ideas, namely the creation of what he called bicultural 'foci': what he had in mind was the creation of, at first, small units within the department where competent people in the same field could carry on their work in French and feel comfortable about it. This was a specialized department and



sometime around the end of last year they happened on a cache of highly-qualified French Canadians who had been working on a project in Quebec which was drawing to an end. They hoped that they might be able to move the whole team to Ottawa where they could go on working together as they had done in Quebec. A departmental official was sent down to Quebec and the group expressed interest; at this point the department thought it would be a smart idea to bring the Quebec group to Ottawa to let them have a look at the working situation here. However, they now discovered a Treasury Board regulation which said that in recruiting, a department could send someone to interview a candidate or could bring the candidate to Ottawa, but it could not do both. At this point the Department dropped the matter. Through a meeting with Treasury Board which we arranged, however, this impasse was quickly resolved and the Quebec group was brought to Ottawa, where they spent a day being told - in French - about the work of the department. Since then, we understand, at least one person out of the group has been hired by the department.

At the same time, as a result of dissatisfaction with the Civil Service Commission language training plan, the department began to take steps to hire a specialist to build up a comprehensive language training program for the



department. Again the idea was to improve the atmosphere and make it easier for French Canadians to take part easily. We have no further report as to whether anything more has happened in this area - our last step was to put the department in touch with several competent people in the field.

The pattern we have described in both of these departments found an echo in a third department which again, like the earlier two, had a large personnel and specialized functions as a service agency. Once again the Deputy Minister proved to have a lively awareness of the need for developing a bicultural atmosphere in his department; he also was in favour of posting officers to regional or foreign offices for the purpose of cultural and linguistic enrichment rather than primarily for any other practical function. Here again, too, senior officials were conscious of differences in culture between French and English Canadians. Among other things, they noted that learning the second language did not necessarily lead to mutual appreciation. To back up their point, they told about a certain French Canadian who had failed to become 'in tune' with the basically English-Canadian administrative style of the department; this led to a suggestion for some form of orientation courses for French Canadians when they arrived in Ottawa.



Other members of the discussion group insisted that senior level orientation courses for English Canadians were equally necessary. As a result of this interest in sensitivity training, one senior officer from the department sat in on the meeting in Montreal with corporation executives which we have already described.

One other senior officer agreed the problem was not to make the French Canadian part of the in-group, but rather to adapt the decision-making apparatus to his presence; the problem was to create a more congenial working atmosphere for French Canadians.

After much discussion, a departmental goal was agreed upon:

"There will be sufficient knowledge of the French language on the part of English-speaking officers to permit French-speaking persons to carry on their work in French in Ottawa and in French-speaking areas".

This department's B. and B. committee, which is at the director-general's level, has had several meetings to discuss various aspects of bilingualism and biculturalism, but has initiated little concrete action. However, it has decided to establish a B.P.O.-type position,<sup>45</sup> in which the

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45. See Appendix I, for explanation of this concept, pp. 289-298



orientation of English Canadians towards increased awareness of French-Canadian administrative styles and other cultural differences forms a major part of this officer's proposed program. The description of two of his duties will illustrate this concern:

- (8) "Conducts a cultural relations program,
  - by collaborating with the Staff Training Division, Information Services and others in arranging for the distribution of articles, the conduct of lectures concerned with the study of Canadian Society in terms of social, economic, cultural, etc., implications of Canada's ethnic composition.
- (12) Promotes improvement of the quality of supervision exercised by officers representative of one culture over the staff of the other culture,
  - by counselling supervisors on an individual basis
  - by literature, etc."

The department seems to be very conscious of the importance of a unique French contribution to the Public Service. Whether it can transform this consciousness into truly congenial working conditions for French Canadians, however, is seriously doubted by its own most senior French-Canadian officer (a director-general).



Several other departments we visited produced variations on this theme of the cultural position of French Canadians in Ottawa. Some were more advanced than others - for example one department had spontaneously got itself into language training even before the Hull school was established. This department is headed by a French Canadian. Language training was considered by at least two of the senior officials most directly involved as almost the complete answer to desirable environmental change, to the exclusion of other cultural factors. Even here, though, one branch director was doubtful how far the natural process could produce results. He had only one French-Canadian officer in his branch and he wondered how he was supposed to go about making the atmosphere congenial to French Canadians. Other senior officers also leaned towards deliberate and concrete steps to speed up the process.

Not all departments were quite so enthusiastic as these first ones. One other large department with numerous contacts with the public showed a rather low sensitivity when we discussed the departmental atmosphere. For instance, one senior officer criticized the Quebec office's insistence on bilingual stamps as 'silly and uneconomical'; yet the Deputy Minister of this department is a French Canadian and on another occasion he talked about the difference in English-Canadian and French-Canadian mentality.



In another department, headed by a French Canadian, most of the emphasis was put on the importance of bilingual services to the public. As far as the image of the department is concerned, the Deputy Minister believed that the French-Canadian public was not at all interested in the linguistic and ethnic profile of the department. On the other hand, some of his senior officers emphasized that the federal government stigma presented a particularly serious problem to them. In a memorandum on Public Information Officers, prepared for a discussion with us, one senior officer noted that:

"At times, neighbours and friends may make relationships uncomfortable for those who work for the federal government in Quebec. It was expressed by a civil servant who considered resigning: Why work for the Federal when one can be paid as well by others and not himself be reminded or have his wife and children reminded repeatedly that they are servants of Ottawa."

In another department, we found the paradox that although the senior officers demonstrated a minimum of concern for the problem, they had nevertheless appointed an acting co-ordinator on bilingual services who is himself very much concerned with the atmosphere of the department. He must deal with an immediate problem of placing French-Canadian students who will be coming this summer on a special internship program; he feels it is absolutely necessary to create, to as great a degree as possible, a French-speaking environment for these students.



The creation of a French-speaking environment was designated as an overall departmental objective when this B. and B. officer himself drafted the functions of the co-ordinator of bilingual services. The relevant section reads as follows:

"To create and maintain in the departments a working and psychological climate conducive to bilingualism,  
- by ensuring that employees and the public are exposed to the French fact as a matter of daily routine, through such means as the encouraging of the production and dissemination of bilingual signs, administrative circulars, forms, etc."

Although personally well qualified, this officer is essentially a low-grade administrator dealing with urgent but detailed administrative problems in the bilingualism and biculturalism area.

This latter department is one of those important in the economic sphere and, like the other economically-orientated departments we encountered, the atmosphere was overwhelmingly English-speaking, and with all the goodwill in the world, it was evident the senior administrators were puzzled as to how to achieve anything in the way of a French-Canadian atmosphere. Some suggestions were advanced, for example in-training programs, sabbaticals and so on, but not too much of specific relevance to immediate plans emerged. The Deputy Minister of one of these departments



was willing to recognize that the working environment in his department was English Canadian, but he felt there was good reason for this: much of the material his department is concerned with goes out only in English and he felt many French Canadians, consequently, preferred to work in English. This, by the way, was a statement of opinion we were to hear often in Ottawa, particularly from scientists, economists and other highly-specialized people. The Deputy Minister who expressed this opinion is one of the most senior and respected members of the Ottawa establishment. Furthermore, in our first discussion group, we were told that the department's contacts with French Canada were very good. It was one Assistant Deputy Minister's opinion that the department must have a comprehension of the whole of Canada, including most assuredly the Province of Quebec.

If these officials had their way, this feeling would influence the induction programs of the department; new recruits would be sent on tours across Canada, and especially Quebec, to obtain a first-hand impression of the country. It was noted that language training and orientation programs such as the above-mentioned one would require additional establishments to enable the department to release its staff for these purposes.



On another occasion, the same departmental officials themselves raised the question of post-language-training orientation sessions, the accent to be on understanding bilingualism and biculturalism, and using the technique of informal discussion groups in which French would be used as the vehicle of communication. It was also envisaged that this program would include weekend trips to Montreal and Quebec city. While this was being discussed, someone realized that the department was in the process of establishing a more general orientation program and that the bilingual and bicultural elements could be best introduced as part of it.

Like many other departments, this one was acutely aware of the deficiencies of Ottawa as an attraction to French Canadians. The lone French Canadian in the discussion group was most anxious to emphasize the importance of this problem. One A.D.M. considered it would be possible for senior public servants to do something in the area of French schools, but he personally had no time to take such action. This department has two pockets of work groups functioning mainly in French - the messenger service and a minor statistics branch. It appears determined to improve this record, however.



Another department we dealt with showed some appreciation for the difficulties of the situation which French Canadians encounter; one French-Canadian senior officer, particularly, felt that personal attitudes in the department needed to be changed. He mentioned an incident involving a French student tour of the department which was given entirely in English. The group discussed the Ottawa environment at some length. It had recently opened a branch office in Quebec City and this step had appreciably increased French-Canadian interest in the department. However, it appears it has no immediate plans to take positive steps to change the internal working atmosphere; (it was at this department - in one of the best known scientific institutions in Canada - that we were told there was no French language typewriter) nor is it prepared to consider the problem of a more congenial working environment as a matter of immediate attention. Other priorities rank higher.

Two other agencies we visited claimed they already were running their departments as bilingual and bicultural units: in one, reports were quickly translated and simultaneous translation was used in all important meetings. However, this agency did admit that its image in the Province of Quebec left something to be desired. It might be noted here



that the image held by French Canadians of this agency is especially important. We suggested to the head that he might have a useful meeting with a group of people who were active in the informal spheres of Quebec public life. It seemed at first that the idea had been picked up enthusiastically by the head of the agency, but in short order we discovered an interesting phenomenon: the deputy head of this agency is a French Canadian and apparently he has a less than fully active role in policy formation. On the other hand, he enjoys full responsibility in relation to Quebec affairs. Evidently, on reflection, the head of the agency considered that any activity on his own part would threaten the position of the second-in-command. Nothing further happened.

At the other agency not located in Ottawa, the officials emphasized the 'flat' structure of their organization and pointed out that French Canadians were very amply represented and could function in their own language. It was quite clear, however, that the top management of the organization was uniquely Anglo-Saxon. We spoke to the senior French Canadian in the organization who pointed to the good recruitment record for the agency; he emphasized, however, that new recruits were selected on the basis of their being able to fit in with the organizational framework. Potential



rebels were weeded out at the beginning. Further research confirmed this impression - that radicals were not welcome. Another officer described the agency as an Anglo-Saxon entrenchment where, in the traditional manner, French Canadians deal with the French-Canadian public: they tend to rise within the limits of the strictly French-Canadian sector and because their experience is limited to French Canada, they are seldom felt to have the breadth of experience necessary to be promoted to the top positions. We were not able to get a discussion group started, since the agency head was concerned about maintaining his high staff morale.

Because of the peculiar structure of this agency, we approached a different set of senior officials at a higher level and they were concerned mainly about the agency's image. They agreed, however, that the environment of the top decision-making circle would not change significantly, even if several French-Canadian officers were appointed to it, since they could not recognize any difference in administrative style between the two language groups: considering the recruiting policies of the agency, this may have been a well-founded observation. They said French Canadians were bound to be appointed to these executive positions in a short time in any case. To stimulate recruitment of good people, they felt the need to improve



the image of the agency - evidently their image in French Canada was more real a concern to them than the actual cultural environment.

Another agency we visited with a small Ottawa office, claimed to be way ahead in the field of bilingualism and biculturalism. The two English-speaking Action Researchers who visited the offices of this agency in Ottawa were greeted by a flow of French from, first, the French-speaking secretary who offered us coffee, and secondly the head of the agency himself who kept us engaged in a very lively way in French for several minutes, presenting a very curious picture of all three English-speaking people trying to impress the other with their competence in their second language. Obviously this was a man who - since he spoke impeccable French - found it easy to encourage a higher degree of bilingualism than most federal departments achieve. He told of welcoming delegations from the Province of Quebec in their own language and other incidents of this sort. His greatest problem, he said, was that of mobility: French Canadians were reluctant to be transferred to uniquely English-speaking areas principally because of family considerations, which made it difficult for him to develop staff training programs. It should be noted that this agency head does not come originally from English Canada, nor from French Canada.



In the Montreal office of this department (which is headed by a French Canadian) where we held one group discussion, the senior English Canadian (unilingual) described the situation as 'one big happy family'. He had been there ten years and had always felt perfectly at home. Both English and French Canadians in this particular discussion group agreed with him, and claimed that a great deal had been accomplished in making the environment more bilingual in the last few years. For instance, the telephone operator now answered the phone with a bilingual greeting (this was conceded to be a relatively minor point), and one division stated it was now offering a certain training course in French as well as English.

Through the efforts of their own publicity department and their regional boss (a French Canadian), the agency had very much improved its image in the Montreal area. Their internal efforts at improving the atmosphere for French Canadians were also in evidence, but the members of the discussion group agreed that the process was necessarily a slow one. Adjustment to bilingualism and biculturalism should be carried out naturally without undue pressure applied to an organization. It was their contention that this adjustment was at least in process and would evolve further if left on its own, but that its pace would continue to be quite slow. English is still the dominant language.



Another agency, the bulk of whose work also is not carried on in the Ottawa environment, seemed to have made more headway in establishing congenial working conditions for French Canadians. This agency is blessed with a very capable French-Canadian senior officer. It became interested in orientation courses of action for senior officers, such as meetings to discuss cultural relations, and also expressed a desire to be informed about the results of our Action Research process.

Among the courses of action already undertaken by the agency was the practice of circulating French and English press clippings concerning its own operations, and the dissemination of relevant technical journals in both languages.

At one point, we brought in a French-Canadian linguist to provide us with a quick analysis of the reasons for this healthy atmosphere. The linguist felt that the encouragement of an atmosphere where both languages are acceptable is essential. The reason this agency had such a positive program appeared to the expert to be the result of favourable attitudes. In our experience with the agency, however, we concluded that it was also the result of specific efforts on the part of the senior officials.



We held a group discussion among the officers in the administrative division, and considering that there were two main parts of the agency, one located in Ontario and the other in Quebec, we asked what would be the result of a policy of total bilingualism. They replied that such a directive would create only minor dislocations in the Quebec division, but grave problems in Ontario. Could the Quebec division operate solely as a French unilingual unit and the Ontario division as an English one? This hypothetical policy was not favoured either, for one official stated that the international language of their particular operation was English and also that French was necessary in Ontario if complete service was to be provided.

As was the case in the agency's head office, we also discussed a numbers of ways of encouraging the development of French in this division.<sup>46</sup> These middle-line officials figured that 5 or 10 minutes of French per day would make a big difference. This and other steps could form part of a self-generating process to increase bilingualism. It should be explained, however, that the achievement of a more bicultural atmosphere in itself was not a distinct objective.

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46. Physically separated from the head office.



The problem appeared to be partly solved and progress seemed to be being made in a natural way. The creation of a special post for a B. and B. officer (called here a 'co-ordinator of translation') was done for concrete and not abstract reasons. Specific administrative problems - in the fields of language training and translation - were identified before the agency would act on the matter. Courses of action to encourage a more congenial atmosphere for French Canadians formed only a by-product of the establishment of this position.

By now, it was becoming clear to us that a bilingual and bicultural atmosphere seemed to be slightly more probable outside the City of Ottawa, particularly in Montreal. One agency in particular caught our attention because it was easily the most bicultural of any department we saw. In the beginning, we discovered, this had not been so: until fairly recently, all of the top direction and working style had been English-speaking. Some time ago, however, the agency had been moved from the City of Ottawa to Montreal and, possibly as a result, the number of French Canadians working for the organization increased. The practice of having whole French-speaking sections headed up by unilingual English-speaking Canadians eventually caused such dissatisfaction



that the agency was split into two separate units. Administration of common services still continues to be predominantly English, but the administration of the two working sections is now largely unilingual, English in one, French in the other.

We held several meetings with this agency because we wanted to know in some detail what the results of this policy had been. What we found was that apparently the agency has reached a kind of at least temporary equilibrium; the French-speaking members of the organization feel they have a reasonable degree of freedom to evolve their own working style. We might add that they emphasize that there is a difference in style and mentality between English and French. They have exhibited in the past very little interest in collaborating with their English-speaking colleagues because they wanted to be free to evolve within a sympathetic cultural milieu. The attitudes among the English-speaking members of the agency ranged from very friendly indeed to the aspirations of French Canada to a worried sense of frustration at a split which they thought weakened the total effectiveness of the agency. The prevailing attitude seemed to be a mixture of the two: essentially, they accepted the split, now that it had occurred, and were learning to live with it. At the same time, they showed



not a little admiration for the work of their French-speaking colleagues and a very active desire to work out some kind of modus vivendi. At our last meeting, at which members of both language groups were present, we found some evidence that there seemed to be enough understanding now to support tentative joint projects. We should emphasize, however, that such a hypothesis is substantiated only on the basis of discussion at one meeting, from which some personnel were ostentatiously absent. Much tension, we were told, remains.

Nevertheless, the experience of this agency points to the practicality of incorporating a genuinely French-Canadian atmosphere within the bounds of a single organization, at least under certain circumstances. To do so, however, their experience seems to point towards some kind of functional cultural division of duties, at least where both language groups are present in number.

## (2) Recruitment

Environmental problems in the Ottawa area touch on every other problem in one way or another. However, most federal departments and agencies agree that recruiting of good personnel of any language raises a particularly serious problem. Getting competent French-speaking personnel is that much more difficult.



Several ideas emerged on how to resolve the problem. One Deputy Minister, for example, thought it was right and proper for the government to pay the extra costs of hiring French Canadians, although he was also concerned about English-Canadian 'backlash'. He was looking for quality in the recruits he wanted and was prepared, he said, to go after the right people himself. He was optimistic that in the long run, the greater job specialization and wider range of challenge in the Ottawa area would create an inviting atmosphere for French Canadians.

Another Deputy Minister we talked to was concerned about recruitment at the senior levels. He also was receptive to the idea that French Canadians outside the Public Service could be recruited more easily if the senior officers played a greater role in approaching good prospects. More than once we asked senior people whether they themselves had done much in the way of personal recruiting in Quebec and usually the answer was no, that they rely largely on the Civil Service Commission or on one of their own Deputies who was French-speaking and who had taken on the role, in their eyes, of liaison man with Quebec. Apparently, the idea of making direct approaches to outstanding individuals in French Canada had almost, what we might call, a 'novelty effect' on the English-speaking



Deputy Ministers, although such direct approaches to particular candidates of unusual qualifications in English Canada appeared to be commonplace. It had to be pointed out more than once that it was possible that French Canadians might enjoy the experience of being hired by the 'boss' just as much as English Canadians, even where the department head did not speak French.

In one department, we heard the opinions of two middle-level French Canadians who were encouraged to speak during the group sessions. Both of them thought the department could do with a better image. One of them was in favour of a public relations program with an emphasis on the positive steps the department was taking; the other looked to genuine changes in attitudes within the department - French Canadians, he thought, did not want to suffer a loss of competence in their area of specialization because of having to function in English. He thought recruitment could have a snowball effect since the presence of some qualified French Canadians would attract others.

These factors - the role of departmental officials in recruiting and the creation of a good departmental image - led several times to discussion of the role of the Civil Service Commission. For instance, one Deputy Minister believed that a whole recruitment campaign could be wasted



if a few young French Canadians who had been in contact with the department told their student friends that the atmosphere of the department was antipathetic to French Canadians. In the discussion group this official went on to ask whose responsibility it was to improve the image, the department's or the Civil Service Commission's. This department concluded it had a positive responsibility and indeed did not feel it could leave the recruitment of French Canadians solely to the Civil Service Commission. The department officials had undertaken lecture tours in the universities and were now following up with scouting trips. At the same time, they were alarmed that all the various departments might have the same idea at the same time and descend on university campuses, one after the other, with only loose co-ordination by the Civil Service Commission. The Deputy Minister concluded that the group had possibly identified a fundamental need to alter the recruitment relationship to the Civil Service Commission, and he thought it was then a question of approaching the Commission on that basis.

In another department, the group took up for discussion the suggestion of a greater use of open-ended competitions rather than the traditional civil service competitions with deadlines. To discuss this and other aspects of recruitment,



a meeting was held between the department and a representative of the Civil Service Commission. The Civil Service Commission officer admitted that their advertising methods lacked imagination. He offered one example of the type of promotional initiative that could be used with greater effect. Apparently, the Civil Service Commission had wanted to recruit some operations research people and advertised for them in Montreal papers. The name of the employer was not identified and only the telephone number of a hotel room, rented for the day, was indicated. Twenty-five calls were received and 24 people came to be interviewed, thus illustrating the value of experimenting with such techniques.

In another department, their specialist officer on bilingualism and biculturalism is focussing much of the department's efforts on the special Civil Service Commission internship program for French Canadians during the summer. Apparently three out of four of last summer's (1965) students have returned to Ottawa to work in the federal government. The department has asked for at least 6 students for this summer. More than one department shared their interest in the student internship program.



Nevertheless, the department feels that the Civil Service Commission is not at all successful in dealing with the problem of French-Canadian recruitment. Although it still must operate within the Civil Service Commission system, it does try to improve its own record through personal contact with candidate sources. The one or two senior French-Canadian officers they have are constantly looking for more French Canadians. According to the Deputy Minister's executive assistant, the department is 'really hurting' in some areas. He mentioned a recent competition where one senior English-Canadian officer wanted a French Canadian so badly he was willing to hire one who was not nearly qualified for the position. The department has made other special initiatives; for instance, they have advertised that unilingual French candidates are free to apply in some competitions. In one case a special recruitment team was sent to the Universities of Montreal and Laval to promote this federal department. Nevertheless, such measures have resulted in little success.

The Deputy Minister is apparently willing to intervene personally if it will help attract French Canadians, and the B. and B. officer in the department is intrigued with the notion of senior level recruitment. It would appear so far, however, that senior officers might be called upon only in



isolated cases, to aid the French-Canadian recruitment, rather than as part of an integrated program.

The matter of employing unilingual French Canadians was taken up in another department. According to one officer, the regional branches are experiencing recruitment difficulties in French-speaking areas, since the department requires that even local candidates must be bilingual. Therefore, the department was interested in raising the level of bilingualism at the head office in Ottawa in order to recruit unilingual French Canadians in local areas. If English Canadians in Ottawa could read and understand French, then there would no longer be the same necessity to hire bilingual French Canadians in the regional branches.

Once again, the scientific departments appeared to have a special point of view. Their recruitment problem generally was complicated by the fierce competition for scientific personnel. The best bilingual scientists, according to one Deputy Minister, still go right into industry. It was also his feeling that in the past, many educational factors seemed to operate against French-Canadian students in the technical disciplines. For instance, their specialization was too narrow; professors were not always up-to-date on the latest advances, and certain areas which English Canadians had covered were not generally studied by the French-Canadian students.



Two French Canadians in this particular branch decried the former recruitment operation of the federal government. During a group discussion, one of them stated that standards had often been conceived in an Anglo-Canadian mentality which had led to discrimination against French Canadians. They were politely rebuked by the English Canadians, who felt this situation had now corrected itself.

A French-Canadian branch director of another scientific department strongly warned against lowering scientific standards in favour of attracting more French Canadians to the department.<sup>47</sup> He also felt that French Canadians in the Public Service should do much more to increase the intake of qualified French Canadians.

During one meeting, it was noted that there had been considerable difficulty in reconciling French and English degrees for summer student employment. The results often led to unsatisfactory solutions and there was some feeling of injustice on the part of French Canadians.

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47. We were told later by an Assistant Deputy Minister that this branch director had returned to Quebec for a vacation where none of his friends believed that he had been appointed branch director on merit alone. They accused him of being a "tame" French Canadian, hired to fill out the post. More than once we had evidence of the social pressure which is applied to French Canadians in the Public Service by their "home" society.



The department did not contemplate initiating specific courses of action to alleviate the shortage of French-Canadian senior civil servants. However, it did recognize that an improvement in the quality of French publications could possibly attract French-Canadian students and scientists. Nevertheless, the department has yet to initiate any real course of action in this field.

One other technique which some discussion groups considered was the notion of orientation courses for incoming French Canadians. In connection with this, we ran across one twist to an old story: one French-Canadian senior officer believed recruiting of French Canadians could be facilitated by offering them courses in English!

This whole question of the desire of numbers of top French Canadians to become competent in English came up in a discussion with a Deputy Minister of a particularly strategic department who immediately became defensive about the department's position. He agreed that an English-Canadian atmosphere pervaded the department, but he felt that French Canadians prefer to work in English anyway, since most of the literature and work in the department's area of specialization is in English. He also names some of his senior officers who were French Canadian or bilingual and stated that his department was attracting a good share



of the French-Canadian market. The biggest selling point in the department's favour was that French Canadians could learn English here better than they could in Quebec City.

The department's feelings were further revealed during the discussion groups. According to the senior officers, French Canadians could be attracted to the department by a salary adjustment. They are in contact with the professionals in their field in Quebec and the image of the department is very good as far as these people are concerned, at least.

The question of short-term employment for high-calibre French Canadians was raised in this department; this was suggested to them as one avenue where prominent French Canadians could bring their influence to bear on the decision-making process. French Canadians would be more apt to be available on a short-term basis, too. However, the senior officers were not generally favourable to this recruitment technique. If these newcomers were to act as co-ordinators between the federal government and Quebec interests, they would simply be regarded as 'front men' by other French Canadians. Also, they would not be with the department long enough to acquire useful skills to make them effective. In any case, the department believed that the best policy-makers were line men who knew the operations. Therefore, there would always be a tendency to place the more competent



officers in these functional responsibilities.<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, an Assistant Deputy Minister stated that the department's overall recruiting program deserves to be criticized. Unfortunately, senior officers were too busy to devote much of their own time in this area. One French-Canadian Assistant Deputy Minister was urgently needed, and the department was taking great pains to hire a good one. It was felt that the Deputy Minister himself should become involved, for the successful recruitment of one individual might become a pole of attraction for others.

Besides the need for French Canadians at the senior levels, for the sake of the department's image, there seemed to be a genuine desire to gain a better 'feel' of French Canada. Obviously, some high-powered French Canadians would help in this respect, but the department was not very optimistic about hiring such people away from good jobs in interesting centres to the City of Ottawa. They felt that they must depend on the development of junior officers attracted at an early age.

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48. For a more extended discussion of the pros and cons of this idea of special advisory groups in the departmental setting, see Appendix IV.



Another attitude, which we certainly did not find elsewhere, was the hesitation to draw away qualified French Canadians from other institutions which might be greatly weakened by their loss. The Deputy Minister and the discussion group participants showed quite a generous attitude; in the short run, at least, it was felt that the Province of Quebec had a greater need for these individuals.

Once again, the perspective was different in the areas outside of Ottawa, particularly in Montreal. Generally, their record in recruitment had been superior. One agency head, for example, approached the problem of bilingualism in recruitment simply by hiring bilingual people where necessary. All positions have certain requirements, and bilingualism is thus tied to the position. The implication is that incumbents of positions designated as bilingual are themselves bilingual.

It is interesting to note the agency head's concern for bilingualism without reference to the ethnicity of the candidate. Very infrequently did we encounter public officials who considered that it was possible to hire bilingual English Canadians. This agency head saw no necessity to have a fair French-Canadian representation at the senior levels. It was his attitude that posts requiring both French and English should go to qualified



candidates, whether they were French-or English-Canadian. The agency head reacted strongly to the French-English division and, at least, did not attach any importance to the influence of senior level French Canadians.

The Montreal branch head viewed recruitment in terms of supply and demand. There was a shortage of bilingual people on the market and since there were limits to what salary his organization could offer, the agency was short of bilingual employees. For him, it was a simple fact of life which one had to live with, but bilingual shortages were not urgent problems.

In one group discussion in Montreal, this branch claimed that renewed efforts were being taken to recruit only bilingual people. The new employees who were not bilingual were generally given the opportunity of participating in a language training program. When pressed to answer how they were stimulating the recruitment of bilingual candidates and French Canadians, they replied that the image of the agency had been greatly improved in the recent past. Important French Canadians in senior positions had shown their competence in the public eye, and the publicity division had been making significant advances in raising the status of the agency among the Montreal populace.



Another agency with most of its operations outside Ottawa, did not concern itself personally with French-Canadian recruitment problems,<sup>49</sup> but it had a few ideas of general application on the subject. The concept of loans of senior personnel from the private sector was commented on unfavourably. This idea, which has had some currency, is to provide French Canadians with short-term attractive employment possibilities at the upper echelons of the Public Service and thus create an area where French-Canadian influence could be exercised. However, the agency officers generally agreed that these special persons would not be around long enough to acquire a good knowledge of the organization in order to be effective. In any case, most of the policy decision-making where these French Canadians might be most helpful, is carried on outside the permanent Public Service, on the Hill. Such people would also have to depend on the support of the agency heads, if any of their advice was to be useful.

The agency head believed that senior-level recruitment of French Canadians could be greatly improved by the compilation of a list of potential and suitable candidates presently working in industry, the professions and in

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49. French Canadians are well represented in the upper levels of this agency; 22% of all personnel earning over \$10,000 are French Canadians.



universities. Whenever it was considered that a French Canadian should fill a vacant post, the list could be consulted and feelers be extended to likely prospects. A special effort of this kind need only to be temporary, since the overall situation was bound to improve in time. There would, of course, be many difficulties, including the danger of political interference.

Finally, we might mention a special case involving an Ottawa-based department which has had to embark on a major recruitment drive in which they have set themselves the objective of hiring one-third French Canadians. We sat in on a high-level departmental meeting in which the following possible guidelines were discussed:

- (1) More direct senior officer contact with the milieu from which French-Canadian candidates were to be sought.
- (2) Use of senior French-Canadian employees, once suitable candidates were located, to urge candidates to join the federal government.
- (3) Greater attention to the environment into which the new recruits were attracted.
- (4) Investigation of candidates outside the "normal" Public Service sources.

Further meetings were held with us regarding recruitment efforts. Finally, we arranged a luncheon in Montreal between a senior departmental official and some French Canadians in Montreal. Thus, contact with the French-



Canadian community was established and one or two of the Montreal French Canadians were quite willing to recruit actively for the department. Since then, the department has made no further effort to capitalize on this possibility of employing voluntary cooperation, and it appears unlikely that they will pursue this lead any further. There is just no strong enthusiasm for these guidelines.

To close this section, we might note the opinion of one Assistant Deputy Minister of this department, who contended that the rough period was about over and that French Canadians would soon be flowing back into the federal government. Not everyone shared his optimism.

### (3) Translation and Language Use

In this section, we turn to the practical problems of translation and modes of language use within the Public Service.

Unlike the problems of environment and recruitment, this appears to be the kind of problem a group like the Public Service would find it easier to get its teeth into. In the matter of environment, departmental officials were quick to point out that the total outside ambiance of the City of Ottawa, in many cases, was discouraging enough to neutralize any efforts they made to improve working



conditions within the department: when it came to recruiting obviously they had to deal with Quebec attitudes which were outside their sphere of influence. Translation, however, only required that they hire the proper people and set up efficient procedures.

What was their opinion of the present system?

One Senior Deputy Minister called it - sharply - 'grossly ludicrous'. In a later group discussion, his Assistant Deputy Minister termed the translation services 'totally inadequate'.

Another department head said right away that their biggest problem was translation. In fact they sometimes did their own to try and get around the problem of quality.

Other departments said flatly they had no problem with translation - either because present services were adequate or because they felt translation was, in some way, a frill. To illustrate the complexity of the reactions, we might quote the case of one Deputy Minister who claimed the translation service was excellent; subsequently his executive assistant and the special Bilingual and Bicultural officer gave us another picture as they described a number of problems.



We were told that a more rational policy needs to be established. For instance, it is sometimes virtually useless to translate English specifications in contracts; the cost of producing a French edition is usually high - one manual designed for the U.S. trade was printed in 10,000 English copies, at a cost of 60 cts. a copy, while 500 French copies were made at \$4 per copy: most of the French copies are still in the warehouse.

The overall impression we received was one of confusion and lack of clear policy. Some departments set great store by translation and make difficult demands on the translation services; others are largely indifferent and simply appear to go through the motions. The quality of translation, too, appears to be uneven and particular problems are raised by the departments which are engaged in highly specialized or scientific activities.

Take, for example, the case of one technical department and its scientifically-trained French-Canadian Deputy Minister who was really concerned with the communications problem: his fundamental problem being the production of high-quality French versions of all publications without a time lag between them and the English editions. In our initial meeting with him, he explained that since the department deals with a large number of small people in a



competitive field, successful relations were greatly dependent on bilingualism. In citing his personal effort to produce a decent French annual report last year, the Deputy Minister stated that the technical nature of the department makes good translators hard to find. What the department really needs are translators who are scientifically as competent and up-to-date as the authors of the original documents.

In our first discussion group, one of his departmental officials suggested that technical translations might be improved by seconding translators from the Translation Bureau on a more or less permanent basis. It was revealed that the department was now experimenting with a senior technical officer position to be filled by a research biologist interested in languages. He would become the overseer of the translation of publications and, from time to time, translate or write a French or English precis of technical articles for internal use. The department was prepared to protect his career and provide him with the necessary training. Unfortunately, this idea received an immediate setback because the Civil Service Commission lowered the classification several notches, making recruitment difficult.



Before a second discussion group (in July 1965), we were issued with discussion guidelines outlining the department's conception of the problem area. We feel that this document represents a very useful example of how constructive Public Service planning can be used to analyze a problem area. A substantial portion of it is quoted below:

For the purposes of this exercise, the problem area is defined as "communication". The problem area is subdivided into these categories:

Routine Correspondence and Related Material

This category is intended to cover letters directed to French-speaking persons and such routine publications as annual reports, departmental directives, etc. The problem here appears to relate to the time lag in the production of this material by the Translation Unit and the quality of the translations. Letters require up to three weeks for translation, while other material may require months. Once produced, the material may require re-writing to correct outright errors, to convey proper shades of meaning, or to raise the general style to an acceptable level. The time lag has its impact in the case of material intended for distribution to both the English and French-speaking communities. The other factors have their impact on the public image of the Department.

Publications Directed to the Scientific and Academic Communities

The problem here centres upon availability in the French language of publications originally written in English. The recipient whose only language is French is denied access to the information contained in the English-language publications. The French-speaking person, who is to a greater or lesser degree bilingual, faces the problem of



whether he really understands the true meaning of the English-language publication.

#### Publications of Economic Consequence to the Profession

The problems here are obvious. The person engaged in private enterprise whose only language is French is denied access to the information available to his English-language competitors. A time lag in the publication of a French translation of such a document means that the French-speaking entrepreneur again has had a disadvantage in relation to his English-speaking competitor. The French-speaking entrepreneur, who is, to a greater or lesser degree, bilingual, has the difficulty of establishing whether he really understands the true meaning of the English-language publication.

#### Publications of Interest to the General Public

The problems here generally parallel those cited above. Persons who speak only French may be denied access to the information. Person who are bilingual may have difficulty in thoroughly understanding the English-language publication.

#### Verbal Communication

The Department's Information Group has a function to perform in developing the Department's image as it appears to the French-speaking community. One problem arises when French-speaking persons are unable to secure information verbally other than in the English language. A second problem arises in the Department's day-to-day operations when there are not sufficient competent French-speaking Information Officers who can not only converse in French, but who are familiar with the attitudes and thought-patterns of the French-speaking community.



The guideline then suggested possible avenues to remedy the situation. The availability of competent personnel was the chief issue. If there is no one, what measures are necessary to develop a cadre of suitable officers? Perhaps much of the work could be done by outside services.

Attention should also be given to providing compensation for those people who are performing these translation functions now, although they were not hired to do so. The guideline encouraged a search for interim solutions while more long-range ones are being developed.

The Deputy Minister reiterated that the main problem was communication between the public and the department through publications. This department would be ideal ground for experimentation, since it is small and the problems were clearly defined, said the Deputy Minister. He went on to advocate the acquisition of the department's own translation services, which it now shares with another department, and to establish a distinctive sort of technical specialist translator. One departmental official added that the cost of any changes must be considered in relation to the public relations cost caused by shoddy material.

Before a meeting (October 1965), which a Civil Service Commission representative attended, a background paper was prepared by two senior officers in the department. One



section contained an appeal to the Civil Service Commission to raise the salary levels of Public Information Officers because of the importance of their linguistic qualifications and their function in transmitting departmental information to the French-speaking public. The second section gave some very useful comments on special research personnel problems. It also revealed indirectly how much French was used in the operations of this technical department, as it described the desirable linguistic qualifications for research officers. For instance, it was 'much easier for those in Quebec to carry on their day-to-day work if they are French-speaking'. Ottawa- or Moncton-based employees operating in the field in Quebec or northern New Brunswick, 'might find useful a speaking-knowledge of French'. Concerning writing ability, the departmental officials located in Quebec 'would find it to be of assistance if they could carry out correspondence in French'.

In pointing out the difficulties which arise in the case of scientists engaged in research, the background paper had this to say:

Almost without exception, professional men can read French when recruited. Research officers prepare their reports and publications for different audiences. Progress reports are prepared often for local (people) and, in our Laboratory at Quebec, are often written in French, but not always. When results are being



prepared for scientific publication, the author decides on the audience that will give him greatest recognition as a scientist, and publishes in the language of the journal or other medium that reaches this audience.

A French-Canadian scientist does not want a translator to translate his publications from French to English or vice versa, because he cannot depend upon the accuracy that will be achieved by the type of translators now available. Nor does he want to re-write them himself in the other language, because this uses time that he could more profitably spend on new research and thereby further his advancement.

The paper concludes by stating that the problem of reaching both French and English audiences has been partially overcome by encouraging journals to publish abstracts of articles in each language.

After this excellent review of some of the departmental problems, we participated in the discussion in which the Deputy Minister pressed again for action in the area of the executive linguistic type of position. He also related his personal experience with the federal government's French version of material in his own field. Apparently, the quality of French publications had improved since 1923, but not much.

The Civil Service Commission representative who was there distinguished between translation and technical writing. He felt that a whole new species of technical



writers should be created in order to fulfil the needs of all departments. The department then described an experiment conducted by one of its branches. Two scientific interpreters were recently hired to communicate to the public \$250,000 worth of research material.<sup>50</sup> The department is pleased with the results thus far.

In spite of the apparent eagerness on the part of the Deputy Minister and other senior officers to carry out some sort of experiment, the department has yet to act. It wanted to make sure that all details were clarified for fear of making a foolish proposal to the control agencies. The planners were undecided whether 2 translators and one coordinator, or 2 senior temporary translators, should be hired. The Deputy Minister's executive assistant also wanted us to undertake a preliminary reconnaissance of the Treasury Board, the Secretary of State and the Civil Service Commission to determine the unofficial reaction to the idea. We discovered that the Treasury Board and the Department of the Secretary of State would welcome such a step, but this department still balks on the issue.

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50. We visited two men, one of whom is French Canadian. Apparently the French Canadian converts English material into French reports without prior translation, thus avoiding one step in the process.



For certain reasons, we dealt with one branch of this department separately. The Assistant Deputy Minister in charge told us of an interesting phenomenon which more concerns 'cultural' rather than lingual qualifications. It is his experience that well-qualified French Canadians were not accepted by Quebecois when dealing with the provincial government. English Canadians are more readily received by these French-Canadian authorities.<sup>51</sup>

This branch felt no need for spoken French at work, although some written comprehension would be useful in handling French letters. One senior officer stated that the only time he had ever spoken French to another employee was at a departmental golf party where he played with a French Canadian summer student. Most of the branch senior officers believed that they could use at least some French in dealing with Quebec, however. The two French Canadians of the discussion group claimed that some oral communication in French helped two-way comprehension. Misunderstandings, the kind in which everyone left the meeting thinking they had a clear understanding of what had been agreed on, only

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51. We have already mentioned Quebec's suspicion of "tame" French Canadians. See page 101. In reforming present conditions, both the situation in Ottawa and attitudes in Quebec, as we noted in Chapter I, are relevant.



to discover later both parties had come away with different interpretations, seemed to occur when all the conversation was in English, but were not so frequent when part of the discussion was in French. One English Canadian doubted this assessment, since most French Canadians could speak English. He was quickly contradicted by two other English Canadians who told him that this situation applied only to the very senior levels.

While no other department gave translation quite the same careful consideration, there were other attempts to treat the problem systematically, which also threw a light on the planning processes of government. One department turned the problem over to its B. and B. Committee which had been set up as a result of Action Research intervention. It formulated a policy:

1. Every form, notice, and publication of the Department intended for other than local use must be bilingual or available in both languages.
2. All formal communications of the Department for the general public must be available in both languages such as legislation, annual reports, Ministerial speeches, press releases.
3. Manuals of instruction should be available in both languages. Specific directives to an office or area should be in the language of its normal operations.



The new permanent secretary to the B. and B. Committee was also issued with particular duties to be carried out in this area. For instance, he was directed to "initiate a feasibility study of bilingual manuals of instruction". However, there was no attempt to make a cost estimate of these endeavours, and there has since been little activity in this translation area.

In another department, although translation received little discussion, the Deputy Minister himself told us he felt that translators were underpaid and as a result produced poor material. He also thought translation was over-centralized. This was about as far as the discussion went, but in the specification of duties for the new position of B. and B. officer they were proposing, they set out the following aims:

Promotes the use of both French and English through the Department,

- by collaborating with chiefs and supervisors and encouraging employees throughout the Department to use both languages in their normal work.

Reviews the forms and manuals and other written instruments of the Department and arranges that these be prepared in both official languages as appropriate.

Reviews the Department's practices with respect to the use of technical translators and the use of centralized translation services and its practices in general in connection with the use of communications media in both official languages by collaborating with Information Services in this regard.



Although the department appears to have recognized these problem areas and has set up on paper a mechanism to deal with them, it does not seem to place a high priority on their solution. If and when the B. and B. officer is hired, we would imagine that he will be fully occupied with many other duties, and not be able to devote much time to these other difficulties, less urgently regarded.

Another agency head said at once that their biggest problem was translation. Sometimes they did their own, but the Translation Bureau complained that it took longer to correct the agency's version than to do the whole job themselves. It was often a question of interpretation rather than translation and the head of this agency wondered whose interpretation was superior.

In the first discussion group, the problem of translation of publications engendered much debate, leading to an identification of the need for a new type of translator. With the tremendous variety of material produced by the agency, some sort of information cum coordination officer was becoming urgently necessary. Someone with linguistic skills who might deal, among other things, with the translation of publications. One such officer would be needed in each division. At present, the ad hoc attempts to solve this problem were not producing satisfactory results and were unfair to the individuals actually doing the work.



As far as the Translation Bureau is concerned, the agency believes that this service body often takes refuge in the Translation Act. The agency thinks it should have the ultimate responsibility for translation of its own publications, and has in mind instituting special French and English editorial boards which would review translated material.

We talked privately with a French-Canadian officer, who said he would be very interested in taking on some type of specialist translator job. It was also his opinion that a less central translation system would be useful, in order to develop the agency's own translation facilities in each division. Along with another French Canadian, whom we met in a group discussion, he stood emphatically for translation of all publications regardless of the demand for them.

After some comparisons of the similar problems at the United Nations, they expressed a desire to accompany us to New York. They wanted to observe the on-the-job training for specialists in terminology and documentation. Such a trip, with the ultimate intention of improving the quality of their own work, was opposed by one officer who did not see the usefulness of the excursion. Nevertheless, the agency decided clearly that it wanted to take part in the U.N. trip; but the Royal Commission decided that departmental participation would be unwise.



The agency realized how difficult it is to handle this problem, but some of them thought an attempt must be made to avoid the delay caused by translation. It was recognized by these officers that remedies would involve a great recruitment drive and vastly improved training procedures. One officer questioned the existence of resources of this nature; if they are available, could they not be more useful in other areas? He also wondered whether Canada could afford the luxury of such a service. In spite of the reluctance of this one officer, the agency was generally in favour of progressive action in this area.

At a later meeting the position of this executive linguist was discussed again. The second in command of the agency stated that their general translation problems were less urgent, but that French publications still only appeared some time after the English editions, and were of poor quality. A go-between was definitely needed between the agency and the Translation Bureau. We asked who wanted the French version anyway, since most French Canadians reading the material probably read English well. A French-Canadian officer agreed that the top specialists could handle the English copy with ease, but that students very much appreciated the French version.



By March, however, the agency was much more concerned about their immediate language training problems. Consequently, translation of publications became a very low priority item, and nothing much has been done about it to this time.

Other departments simply don't handle that much translation, or if they do, they devote little thought to it. However, in some cases they are casting about for means to improve their record.

For instance, one department went through long negotiations before finally receiving permission to maintain one translator on the actual premises of the department. One Assistant Deputy Minister went so far as to call for complete decentralization of the translation services. A senior French Canadian disagreed, emphasizing that translators, like everyone else, wanted to establish careers in the Public Service. He believed that limiting translators to one department might jeopardize their careers, but he did concede that certain specialization areas were necessary for translators. This same French Canadian also proposed that the federal government establish a training school for candidates who wished to embark upon a career in translation.



Apparently, this department has resorted to outside translation agencies on occasion, especially in emergency situations. However, this alternative is not looked on as a permanent solution, since the department feels that their work is too specialized for private translation firms.

The notion of the executive linguist position was viewed with interest as a possible solution. The department plans to review these and other matters as they undergo their next phase of bilingual and bicultural evaluation.

The Deputy Minister of another department (a French Canadian) dismissed translation as no great problem, since externally the department produced little material for publication. The senior officers expressed their annoyance, however, that another department was putting a strain on the supply of translators by attaching a high priority to the translation problem.

In another department, where little translation is done, there was discussion about the use of French within the department. Written French flows into the department in three ways: correspondence with French-Canadian businessmen in Quebec, correspondence with the Quebec provincial government, and material sent by French-Canadian officers



in regional or foreign offices. Aside from this, little else is received or written in French. In fact, the Deputy Minister mentioned that all inter-departmental communication is in English and that he had never seen a French cabinet document in 25 years' experience.

They would like to offer more complete service in French to the public, even though 98% of their business is conducted in English. A recent campaign was launched to increase the French-Canadian participation in the department's operations by a sales drive of their monthly review magazine. The French version was sent to all potentially interested elements of the French-Canadian public, and a large number of French subscriptions were acquired as a result.

There are some complications caused by this department's effort to increase its service to the French public. For instance, officers are trained in specialized areas to handle business across the country. It is so arranged that work cannot be allotted on a regional basis, but must be divided according to specialization. Therefore, unless all the officers in any one section of the department's activities are bilingual, French Canadians are unable to deal with the department in French in all areas. There is certainly an acute lack of capacity in this area.



We met another kind of problem in quite a different set of circumstances, again largely in departments operating outside the Ottawa atmosphere. Here, some department heads made a persuasive case that their normal operations were bilingual, and that the use of one's native language (French or English) was an accepted administrative procedure which created no special problems. Their interest was rather in building up a greater French vocabulary in their own area of specialization.<sup>52</sup>

One Montreal operating head told us that many of the technical terms in English had no equivalent in French. This man, a French Canadian, personally innovated some translations for these terms, but incurred the wrath of linguists at the University of Montreal. In general, he believed that language is not the most important expression of culture. Therefore, the question of French technical terms was a problem of secondary importance, and in the long run, independent research would inevitably be done in this area anyway, he thought.

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52. We note with interest that since the first draft of this report, CN have announced a policy to introduce correct French language railway terminology into their operations.



During the group discussion, there was disagreement over the necessity of bilingual specifications. One French Canadian claimed that no French Canadians use the French version, that the agency has no facilities to produce bilingual specifications, and that therefore it represented an unnecessary cost. He suggested that the city of Montreal should set up a bureau of standards to provide the necessary technical language and offer translation services. Two English Canadians argued that bilingual specifications should be maintained, for the French Canadians would gradually adopt the French terminology as a result.

It appeared that the Montreal office of this agency uses a great deal of English in internal communications. More and more forms are being made bilingual but English is still the principal written language even at the lower levels, where most of the employees are French Canadians.

The spoken language at the upper levels is still largely English, for there are some unilingual English-Canadian senior officers. The engineers work mainly in English: most of the French-Canadian engineers had studied in English in any case. However, we were told that a bilingual engineer is valuable because he can use French a great deal in the field. The service to the public, of course, is completely bilingual.



Another department had developed a glossary of terms in French. However, as the Deputy Minister told us, the nature of their work was very technical and hard to understand even in one language. Consequently, the use of French at the operational level was not considered to conform to the demands of efficiency.

Another agency became quite interested in establishing some sort of communicator position to carry out a general purification of technical terminology and perhaps explore the administrative usage of the two languages. Apparently, whenever they seek direction from the Translation Bureau, they are simply asked if they want the material translated or not. During the fall of 1965, the agency's translation system, which was never very efficient, underwent severe strains. Through a special arrangement, this agency had been able to send some material for translation to another federal department. However, the burden became too great for the other department and the agency was advised that it could no longer depend on this translation arrangement. Confronted with immediate translation problems, then, the agency felt a need to use outside translation agencies. In this case, an officer would be required to carry out liaison functions with these agencies. At the same time, it was



thought preferable to hire a person qualified enough to do first rate translation of specialized material and handle French communications.

In a discussion with officers of their administrative division, located outside of Ottawa, a need was expressed to coordinate the translation of correspondence. Although this function could not justify the hiring of a full-time translator, it was revealed that the French Canadians of the division at present do the routine translation themselves. The officers of the administrative division mentioned two other functions which a new employee could take on: the translation of the fundamental documents and forms, only a quarter of which are now available in French;<sup>53</sup> and the investigation of the need to translate manuals and other daily documents.

Finally, a coordinator of translation was hired in March 1965. He spent the first five weeks translating the agency's annual report, but is now supposed to coordinate the general volume of translation as well as reorganize and translate standard documents. In officially sanctioning the post, the agency's executive committee ruled that, henceforth, the administrative division should provide bilingual documents.

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53. It was the Commission's questionnaire that made this officer realize the deficiencies in this respect.



The agency head, a French Canadian, described how he had encouraged the written use of both languages in his organization. It is his policy that unilingual memos in the author's language are written, that every desk is provided with a French dictionary, and that French and English newspaper clippings and technical articles are circulated to all officers.

Not all departments with specialized translation requirements seemed to be quite so advanced in their planning. Since we began this account of translation problems and how departments are handling them with the description of the department who gave it the most constructive thought, we might end by talking about another case where some considerable thought was given the matter but attitudes seemed very different, although perhaps the result was not all that different.

The senior Assistant Deputy Minister whom we first contacted felt personally that bilingualism was uneconomical and essentially an emotional and irrational phenomenon. From a communications point of view, he considered bilingualism anachronistic; English was by far the most important scientific language. In his opinion, French Canadians read technical articles in English faster than in French. In



addition, it was the department's policy to publish in the language used, but it was a fact of life that English readership was far greater than the French audience. Therefore, most material written by French Canadians was done in English.

The publications are very poorly translated into French, and the Assistant Deputy Minister believed that this was a direct consequence of the government's policy of paying low salaries to translators. He felt that if the government wants to have French publications well written, then it should devote the necessary resources to this end. Although he was not favourably disposed to diverting funds from research to translation, he supposed that if it was to be done, it was worth doing well.

The first discussion group disclosed that other senior officers held the same attitude as the senior Assistant Deputy Minister. English is the language of science; scientific expertise is taught and learned in English, the scientific demand for French publications is low. Although they maintained that most French Canadians would prefer to buy the English version rather than wait for a late French one, they admitted that the French distribution would increase if the translation service was improved.<sup>54</sup>

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54. We were told that one of the major source documents put out by this department, used by scientists all across the country, has been available in English since 1958. The French translation is now almost ready. However a totally revised English version may beat it to the publishers.



The senior officers did say that it was departmental policy to publish abstracts and summaries in French, but they noted that these were often published in Russian and German. It was mentioned also that most of the French-Canadian regional reports were published in French.

The translation service was considered by these senior officers to be very inadequate. Therefore, the department must do much of it itself, which is a wholly unsatisfactory situation, they said. There was some enthusiasm for the concept of a scientific translator (what we refer to as the executive linguist). The department felt that a whole new category of technical writers would have to be established to attract suitable candidates. Their advancement would have to be guaranteed, and they would have to be paid substantially more (50% was mentioned) than their scientific qualifications warranted.

Before the next meeting, branch heads in the department prepared estimates on the extra cost of producing French copies of all publications. Most of the branches would require a budget increase of about two to five per cent, while one gave a figure which represented 25% of his budget (a "very complete" estimate, he said). Aside from their calculations, we received some interesting insights on the use of French and the attitudes of this technical department.



One branch head figured that the bilingual and bicultural situation would improve if the information officer was bilingual and if there was less delay in translation.

Another felt there were no insurmountable problems preventing the French publication of all reports in his branch, except that it would be very difficult to obtain Treasury Board approval. Another branch director said that practical difficulties such as the absence of any bilingual typewriters hindered the encouragement of the use of French in his operation. However, some progress had been achieved since the existence of French-Canadian amateur scientific clubs in Quebec had influenced the sales of the branch's monthly review which now contains a number of articles in French.

In yet another branch, there were no professional French Canadians on staff; therefore, research in the Quebec and New Brunswick regions was contracted out to Laval and the University of Montreal. A fifth branch head was preoccupied by the dangerous effects of translation errors. Some misunderstandings had occurred over contact specifications with Quebec firms. A sixth branch head claimed his branch was in a budgetary straight jacket, since there was always the temptation to use translation money for further research. He mentioned, too, that the Queen's Printer has a peculiar policy of relating per unit subsidies to the volume of sales.



There was one suggestion which the Assistant Deputy Minister considered acting upon immediately. One branch director wondered whether a special bilingual and bicultural item, specifically allocated to the translation of publications, could be obtained from the Treasury Board. In this way, the department would not feel it was sacrificing any research money by paying for translation. The Assistant Deputy Minister proclaimed that the department would give this idea serious consideration for the next period of estimates.

This department was also interested in contacting other departments. It had a rather arbitrary policy of translating publications, and wondered whether the N.R.C., for example, had developed overall criteria.

As a result of this meeting, we felt some interest had been generated in this department regarding courses of action to improve their translation, but it had taken no steps whatsoever when we again saw the Assistant Deputy Minister in late December. The problem of editorial policy had fallen between two stools, he said. Since he was not in 'administration', and the other Assistant Deputy Minister was a French Canadian, neither was in a position to act decisively in this matter. He agreed that an executive linguist would be very useful in every branch and that someone to check translation would be also valuable.



However, he still held to his basic views on the dominance of the English language. From this final contact, (he told us he would give us a call after consulting his new Deputy Minister, but never did) we also learned that it is still departmental policy to translate all incoming French correspondence and prepare a reply in English before translating it back into the author's language.

#### The Use of spoken French

Oral, as well as written language capacity, was also discussed. Several departments made the clear distinction between provision of service to the public and internal use by which French Canadians could work in their own language. Both possibilities presented mammoth problems for many departments, but those associated with the latter clearly were more puzzling than the former. Much of the service to the public is in the form of written correspondence, and that can be dealt with now, however laboriously. Public demands on service tend to be concentrated by area and these can be dealt with by pegging certain positions as bilingual. Even departments which cannot divide their work regionally can see a way to cope by making sure that in every important section there was one French-speaking person who could deal with the public. Public Relations departments might have to be beefed up as well.

Service to the public, verbally, is much more troublesome. In fact, many officials considered that when this problem had been licked, there was no great rush to deal



with the other side of the problem - specifically, internal use. When pushed to talk about this, departments described internal language use as a definite problem.

To make the head office congenial to French Canadians, it would help, one departmental group discussion felt, if English Canadians were able to understand enough French so that French Canadians could use their own language in daily operations.

There appeared to be a growing acceptance of the use of French by French Canadians in this way, as illustrated by one director-general's anecdote. He had recently attended a conference at which about a third of the participants were French Canadians. He was delighted when a fair amount of French was used at small discussion groups. Not long ago, this would not have been possible.

One aspect of language use which intrigued the Deputy Minister and several other senior officers of a second department, concerned the possibility of submitting internal reports in French. French Canadians are formally free to do this now, according to one person, but such action does, in fact, cause considerable delay. A French-Canadian officer mentioned that he sometimes circulated French reports and wrote little notes in English to help the English-Canadian staff. One Assistant Deputy Minister strongly urged the



department to pursue the question, but another official objected that the cost in time, resources and delay in service was considerable.

Nevertheless, this particular meeting ended with the Deputy Minister suggesting that there was plenty of scope for improving the treatment of French language reports. A possible saving would be to send less material to the Translation Bureau.

A French Canadian director-general in another department suggested that Quebec offices be encouraged to submit correspondence and reports to Ottawa in French. In this way a qualified staff would have to be developed to handle the inflow, thus justifying language courses. This idea had also come up in the first mentioned department. There has been little attempt to put this objective into practice however.

While the department was undergoing fairly extensive reorganization, the new Deputy Minister of one branch complained to the branch's Assistant Deputy Minister that he had seen a letter sent out in English by a French Canadian to a French Canadian. The Assistant Deputy Minister requested a subordinate officer to assess the branch's capability in French correspondence, and this person met with us to discuss the problem. The branch officer said that, without investigation, he knew that the



branch's capability was virtually nil. Therefore, he wanted to suggest measures to develop some kind of bilingual capacity. Since there was little correspondence with the public, the principal area of concern was communication with Quebec regional offices. If the Ottawa-based officers were to achieve greater comprehension of written French, possibly after the introduction of a modified receptive language training course,<sup>55</sup> this might do away with the practice of regional offices writing in English. Replying to them in French was the main problem, and various ideas about possible communicator positions were discussed. It was suggested that perhaps all the branch needed was a few able French Canadians who could compose letters and reports after receiving briefings in English.

The officer reported back to his chief in a half-hour executive committee meeting. Finally, a strong memo was written to the Deputy Minister, concerning the recommendation of a communications officer position. To this point, however, we have received no indication that any further action has taken place.

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55. See Appendix I, pp. 329-331 for explanation.



To complete the picture in this department, we should mention two other courses of action which cropped up during our discussions. The department is now ordering typewriters with bilingual keyboards and planning to convert the old ones at \$15 per machine. On the subject of technical manuals, it was suggested that forced translation of these bulky documents might reduce the size of the English ones, which in itself would be a worthwhile accomplishment.

The Deputy Minister of another department, we discovered, after initial talks with us, had instituted an author's language policy in meetings. He claimed it worked quite well, but his staff admitted that the use of French at meetings by a small and totally bilingual French-Canadian minority was very awkward. For lack of French Canadians to talk to, English-Canadian officers apparently sometimes practice their French with each other. Nevertheless, the author's language policy was more effective when applied to meetings at the Quebec regional offices. Recently, too, the department did receive 12 officers of the Quebec provincial government's sister department, and this reception was carried out primarily in French.



In some areas, this department has made progress in bilingualism and biculturalism, but not much in translation or language use. French memos, for instance, are almost never written in the department, because it is felt that there will inevitably be a lack of comprehension and delays. At the same time, there is little effort at the senior level to encourage the expansion of such use of French.

One other department was largely interested in the merits of receptive language training. If it was to be justified solely on the basis that the department would eliminate a certain amount of translation, the Deputy Minister believed that it would not be worthwhile. More than Glassco-type arguments about efficiency would be needed to arouse the enthusiasm of other senior officers, he felt.

This department felt it had bilingual capacity to deal with the French-Canadian public and a sufficient number of bilingual officers to handle internal relations. They are not completely satisfied, though, since they participate in the C.S.C. language training courses, and



they do regard oral comprehension as a necessary acquisition. But they do not appear to view the increase in the use of French as an urgent problem.

To complete the picture, it must be noted that some agencies told us they were freely bilingual. French Canadians were supposedly free to work and associate in their own language. One agency said it made it its business to pay for the translation of internal documents written in French, and all documents were sent to senior officers in both languages. Simultaneous interpretation was employed at Board meetings.

Another agency follows the author's language policy in internal operations. All forms are available in both languages; correspondence is dealt with in the language of the original writer; internal material remains in the language in which it was written. Most external communication is in English, and directives to officials are in English. Translation is no problem in these areas because there is none.



Concerning language use, the agency's first reaction was to tell us that French has been used in dealing with French Canadians as a normal procedure for many years. French-Canadian business transactions are made and processed in French. Internally, French-Canadian officers make their reports in French and copies are sent across Canada, with the result that even westerners receive written material in French.

We were assured that at Quebec regional conferences, the French-Canadian agency employees had no hesitation to use French. Where French Canadians dominate the regional offices, French is the functional language of business. However, only English is used at the senior levels partly because there are few French Canadians in the upper echelons, but mainly because the senior officials feel that English is the businessman's language. It is a reaction which is perhaps typical of the Montreal business community.

Another agency head stated that the overriding policy since his accession to this post has been to do business in the language of the customer or client. He also expects as a normal procedure, that French-Canadian employees speak their language at all levels. He said



bilingualism was a natural administrative procedure in his department, and that there were certainly no problems in translation or language use.

In all these cases, however, we understood clearly that English remained the decision-making language at upper levels.

#### (4) Language Training

Discussions of language use lead naturally to language training, since if enough people cannot be recruited to provide bilingual capacity in the department the next most effective action is to retrain the existing staff.

In early 1964, the government decided to set up an elaborate course of its own, the Voix et Images de France (VIF) course, which was developed at St. Cloud in France primarily to train immigrants to that country. From this initial effort, the government has expanded the V.I.F. course facilities and now offers it to a large number of civil servants.

In almost all our discussions about bilingualism and biculturalism with senior public servants, the subjects of language training was raised. In fact, it probably sustained



more interest than any other topic. We present below the reactions to their language training experiences, first of the departments and one agency within the civil service, and secondly of the other federal agencies. The distinction of the civil and greater Public Service is made in this case, because the C.S.C.-administered course virtually excludes the participation of the crown corporations. Therefore, the departments and one agency within the Public Service provide a separate experience due to their relationship with the C.S.C.-sponsored V.I.F. course.

At our very first group discussion with senior officials, we encountered feelings of frustration and disappointment in the V.I.F. courses. Post-course usage was a problem and one person suggested some system of follow-up post-course training. It was also suggested that the difference in departmental requirements should mean a greater range of methods of instruction.

In another meeting, this department elaborated on the obstruction encountered in approaches to the Inter-Departmental Committee on B. and B. and the control agencies wherever language training initiatives were undertaken by the department. We encouraged them to formulate specific



requests and then approach the C.S.C. The department balked at this suggestion, however, because it did not feel that it was in a position to make specific enough proposals for language training.

In this department a committee on bilingualism and biculturalism was instituted, and it set about drafting a report on bilingualism and biculturalism in the department. The following quotes are excerpts from this report:

"Also cited ... is the inadequacy of the present civil service training program vis-à-vis the training needs of the department".

"The present language training program is inadequate to meet minimum standards. The courses are probably useful in bringing about a general slight increase in bilingualism. They are not turning out people fluently bilingual, able to operate effectively in both languages at a level serving Departmental interests".

The report was approved in full committee consisting of a number of senior officers including all the Assistant Deputy Ministers. However, the department feels it lacks the necessary expertise to approach the C.S.C. Moreover, their past experiences with this agency have not been encouraging. Therefore, this department continues to send students to the V.I.F. course, although it is unhappy with the system.



At the first group discussion of our next department in July 1965, we were asked our opinion of the V.I.F. courses, for the department was not pleased with the results of this language training. As with the first department, there were the complaints of lack of post-course usage. In August 1965, this department met with a C.S.C. senior officer (we were also present) who encouraged the department to send specific requests to the C.S.C. This C.S.C. representative was quite fully briefed on the V.I.F. system and presented a strong case for its continuation.

The department took no action right away for, as we later found out, it did not feel sufficiently acquainted with language training techniques to bargain effectively with the C.S.C.

In late 1965, this department told us that in their opinion, the C.S.C. was not achieving its language training objectives. It was not satisfied with the efficiency of the V.I.F. courses.

In February of this year, the department exhibited increasing concern. The Deputy Minister had by this time tested the V.I.F. course through personal experience. He sought to change the orientation of the C.S.C., but figures



that this act would require a great effort, since the C.S.C. appeared to be immovable. He felt that he did not want to initiate a conflict between the C.S.C. and his department. In his opinion, the government should be the one to establish the exact relationship between the C.S.C. and the departments in language training matters.

Shortly afterwards, this Deputy Minister invited us to participate in another meeting for which we received an agenda: "Points of Discussion with Bilingualism and Biculturalism Staff". Two items which illustrate their concern for language training effectiveness are quoted below:

2. "Whether it would be practical to have a group of classes in (the department), at apparently the same level and coordination with the main system but oriented towards particular needs of the department?"
4. "How much influence we should or could exert on the rigid program of the government school to:"  
(three points outlined)

As these points indicate, the department wanted to modify the V.I.F. course or carry on complementary courses within the department. At our next meeting, the Deputy Minister launched into an attack on the V.I.F. course itself. Among other things, he complained that English is not tolerated in the classroom, that no grammar books



for reference are provided, that priorities are not being followed, that the students, who are all adults, are not given satisfactory explanations of grammatical points, etc. He also felt that the V.I.F. course is too standardized for the department's needs and thus wasteful, and that the C.S.C. should have visited departments to formulate a common office vocabulary. It must be emphasized that these comments were not those of an ordinary student. They emanated from a Deputy Minister whose main concern is the efficiency of a major department and thus the effectiveness of language training. This senior civil servant has briefed himself quite thoroughly on language training and linguists on the Royal Commission's staff were inclined to agree with most of his views.

Finally, some of the department's officials arranged a meeting with C.S.C. officials, including the coordinator of language training. We were invited as well. The department's approach was to seek cooperation from the C.S.C. in setting up complementary practice sessions. This meeting was preceded by certain correspondence between the C.S.C. and this department, excerpts of which are provided below:

(A letter addressed to us from the Deputy Minister after having received a reply from the C.S.C. to his criticisms of the V.I.F. system):



"I do not seem to have been very successful in persuading him (the C.S.C. official) that the present system might be in a way modified to meet the characteristics of the students and the needs of the government departments. It does seem to me rather extraordinary that (the department) spent three years studying French without learning anything about how to answer the telephone or deal with simple office situations. I cannot help but feel that interest on the part of the students and the efficiency of the course would be greatly improved by recognizing that most of the students have some working basis of French grammar and that all of them are taking the course at public expense in order to conduct public business more effectively".

Privately, the Deputy Minister revealed that his feelings were much stronger than they appear in this letter. In order to balance the department's view on the subject, we show below three paragraphs from the letter sent to the department by the C.S.C. Note that the C.S.C. takes the attitude that its authority on language training cannot really be questioned by an individual department. We may add that our linguists at the Commission do not necessarily agree with the pedagogical points made in this letter.

"I realize the difficulties and frustrations that arise out of our adherence to the rule that English should not be used to explain a French word. As frustrating as this process appears to be, it is well established as a pedagogical tenet that it is the most effective way in the long run.

We are now engaged in a research project designed to provide a 'third phase of training' in French which will in fact be oriented to the working



situations in the Government Service. We have pretty well come to the conclusion that we should not fuss too much with the first two phases because we have found, after the expenditure of considerable sums of money, attempts to modify the vocabulary in the programme introduced such serious problems in relation to the development of an understanding of language structure, that it now appears impossible to produce improvements from a vocabulary point of view without ruining the system. However I understand that this aspect of the system is still under review.

We will certainly take into careful consideration the development of suggestions for follow-up to be done by students between phases of training and after training is completed.

The department eventually met with officials of the C.S.C., a meeting which we also attended. All the complaints of the department about the V.I.F. course were aired by the departmental officials but the C.S.C. reacted very defensively to this criticism.

The departmental officials also tried to probe the C.S.C. about possible cooperation in complementary language training measures. In this area, they received little reaction and became impatient with the C.S.C.'s lack of enthusiasm. Therefore, they decided after the meeting to develop their own post-course training methods and try to increase the effectiveness of the V.I.F. courses in this way. This department will then be working in isolation from the C.S.C., although at the same time attempting to complement the official V.I.F. course.



In one way or another, we met with criticism of the C.S.C. program, more or less sharp, in just about every department which discussed language training. On no other subject did we discover such unanimity. The commonest criticisms were that the courses were not sufficiently intensive and that follow-up courses were needed. This opinion was expressed often enough by senior officers to be almost unanimous. One full-time officer, employed by one department to handle bilingualism and biculturalism and language training in particular, saw it differently.

He told us he did not consider the one-hour-per-day courses a waste of time, because they do show English Canadians how difficult it is to learn a second language. In his opinion, the courses also develop a good passive knowledge of French for most students and even oral competence for some. Therefore, he accepts the V.I.F. course as a useful language training course and would not want the department to duplicate the C.S.C.'s efforts. However, he would like to initiate some specialized language courses for students who have completed the V.I.F.'s 3<sup>e</sup> degré. These courses would be tailored quite closely to the department's needs.



To resolve the problem of post-training usage, one Deputy Minister proposed language instruction for complete work units. This idea was also discussed on other occasions, but usually foundered on administrative objections.

Another department, which devoted virtually a whole meeting to language training, levied criticism at the Inter-Departmental Committee on B. and B. for not advising the Public Service on bilingual and bicultural matters except to say that the V.I.F. courses should be patronized. The language training system itself was deemed too inflexible, and many alternative methods for learning French were explored. In fact, the whole emphasis in this field should be on the development of a battery of approaches to language training.

It was suggested that a special body, such as a crown corporation, be set up to remove language training authority from the C.S.C. Other ideas coming from the discussion included sending personnel to summer schools operated outside the Public Service for a combination holiday and language training course for those senior officers who could not find time to take a normal holiday. Although the V.I.F. course was useful - to expose students to French,



if for nothing else - it certainly does not form the only type of language training considered essential by this department.

Another department had operated a V.I.F. language training program before the establishment of the C.S.C. schools. Their course was restricted to one hour per day, and the department regarded it more as a form of orientation device than a way to master French. To learn French, it was felt, a greater sacrifice in time was necessary. Therefore, the department asked the Treasury Board for supernumerary positions in order to release employees for longer periods. Their request, which was included in last year's estimates, was rejected by the Treasury Board.

Before approaching the Treasury Board again, the department considered that it would be necessary to establish long term aims. It is still in the process of settling its own goals.

The French-speaking Deputy Minister of a technical department, which did not discuss language training in its group discussion, remarked to us privately that English Canadians in his department would never acquire a working knowledge of French through the V.I.F. courses.



However, one branch of the department, which is more oriented towards social planning and which we met independently, did discuss the language training facilities with us. They were more enthusiastic. The officers expressed no particular complaints about the V.I.F. course, although they certainly recognized that French could not be learned solely from it. However, they took issue with the organization of the courses as handled by the C.S.C.

The Assistant Deputy Minister in charge of the branch had just begun the half-day V.I.F. course: he had not been notified of his acceptance until he had phoned the C.S.C. the day before he was to begin classes. At the same time, he inquired as to the possibility of enrolling in a total immersion course envisaged by the C.S.C. He was informed that he would have to proceed through the 3 degrés of V.I.F. and then be placed on a waiting list. It would be 1970 before he would eventually be permitted to register for the total immersion course. This was upsetting, since he gave strong evidence of a very lively commitment to bilingualism, even at some personal sacrifice.



We met this same Assistant Deputy Minister about one month later and asked him about his experience in the V.I.F. course thus far. By this time he was personally dismayed at the inefficiency of the school system, for he figured his progress was considerably hampered by the slowness of some of his fellow students. He claimed that his work was also suffering quite badly, due to his part-time absence from the office.

Another department estimated personnel time devoted to language training presently at 3.7% of the total man hours spent at work. It has had long experience with language training, extending back to its own experimentation with audio-visual techniques, and consequently the department puts a fair emphasis on language training. However, it is also the department's goal to reduce the time spent on language training to 2.8%. Hence, greater efficiency is desirable. The Deputy Minister himself criticized the 2<sup>e</sup> and 3<sup>e</sup> degrés as being too grammatical and preferred a more practical course to reach the department's objectives.

At a later meeting, one senior official pleaded that wives be allowed to take the course as well. In addition, there was a desire on the part of some of the senior officers to reorganize the department's system of selecting



students, in order that they might derive the maximum benefit from the language schools. Clearly, although this department was heavily committed to Voix et Images de France, it was critical of the system and method, and was determined to improve its efficiency.

In a group discussion last fall, another department displayed some consternation over the time lost from work due to the courses. Also, it was noted that language training disrupted other departmental training schemes. But in general, the language training system operated by the C.S.C. was not questioned.

We attended another meeting of the department's B. and B. Committee in February, where there was great discussion over criteria for selection of students. Individual cases of employees who had asked to take the full-time courses for four months, beginning next fall were mentioned. The complexity of the selection problem was quite forcibly emphasized by witnessing this process of reviewing actual names in real situations. One director-general who was a member of the committee, stubbornly refused to cooperate and would not release any of his staff. He had been understaffed for twenty years and did not want to be additionally burdened by his employees' absence from work, due to language courses. The committee



came to no conclusions about individual cases and left the matter to the individual division heads. It was maintained, furthermore, that the C.S.C. had issued no guidelines, and had simply left the question up to the judgment of the departments.

One administrative problem was also brought to light during this meeting. One candidate (at the SO1 level) was refused permission by the committee to attend the full-time course, because it would take weeks to find a replacement to fill his position during his absence. Since the C.S.C. informs the candidates of their successful application only a few days before the start of the course, it would be impossible to accommodate this person, ever. A replacement could not be found at the last minute, and if one were trained earlier, the candidate might at the last minute be denied a place in the class.

Another interesting attitude towards language training showed itself during the discussion. One director-general commented, with everyone else's approval, that language training is a method of introducing English Canadians to French culture. The following quote describing this attitude is taken from the department's own minutes of the meeting:



"Dr..... suggested that French language training policy be such that training would be available to staff who, although they may not require a knowledge of French, would want to receive training as their contribution towards biculturalism. There was general agreement on the desirability of this approach and recognition that such training has achieved a wakening of interest in French culture".

In spite of its earlier ready acceptance of language training as administered by the C.S.C., the department now appears to be becoming more critical of the effectiveness of the V.I.F. courses. The chairman of the departmental B. and B. Committee is himself beginning to question whether the C.S.C. could not be more flexible in approach to language training.

One department with which we had several meetings, identified a need for greater passive bilingualism, in order to deal with its unilingual regions. Its attitude to the Civil Service Commission was highly suspicious, and it told us it had little confidence in these centralized schemes. It felt it wanted to run its own programs. As a result, discussions with linguistic specialists were held, and the department seemed to be moving towards an experimental program in passive language training. However, the Deputy Minister's initial enthusiasm waned. He decided



finally that such a program was just too ambitious for his department to take on, and now hopes the C.S.C. will itself initiate a trial receptive language training course.

#### Public Service Agencies outside the Civil Service

Five of the government agencies with whom we had contact were not in the Civil Service proper. In all five cases, no use whatever was made of the C.S.C. language training school system. We received very little information in the field of language training from one of them, but it appears that the other four have made various efforts in providing language training for their employees.

One of these public institutions has an outside teacher and a budget of \$20,000 for language training. However, there are many officials of this agency who feel that the courses are inadequate. Another agency practices the policy of partially reimbursing fees that students pay for language training programs. The head of this agency said simply that the C.S.C. arrangements were not suited to his own agency. He was particularly interested in learning about new techniques in language training and sought our advice on the matter. Another agency organized internal language courses for its French- and English-speaking personnel. Although the method is not V.I.F., these courses



would approximate the one hour per day kind. Finally, the fifth agency has no formal language program of its own and manifested quite an interest in courses akin to receptive language training. This agency had experimented in the past by sending one English Canadian to the University of Montreal. Unfortunately, the employee in question did not return to the agency very proficient in French.

There is little we can conclude from the scattered bits of information about these agencies in relation to the C.S.C. language training system. Except for one of them (the one about which we know very little in this field), these agencies have substantial operations outside Ottawa, especially in Montreal. Generally, we found a higher degree of bilingualism in these agencies than we did in the Civil Service. Therefore, the need for some kind of language training would seem to be less acute.

On the other hand, although these agencies had encouraged language instruction to be operated either inside or outside their own structures, the results by their own admission were not totally satisfactory. Each individual agency presents a somewhat different picture, of course, but in none of them is the history of language training a resounding success story.



(5) Administration

We have so far described the action experience in terms of specific problems raised by bilingualism and biculturalism. Departments have their own ideas as to the relative importance of the problem areas within their own organization and as to the best means of going about solving them. In some cases, problems were recognized but no action followed. In others, various mechanisms and forms were introduced to continue the process of evaluation and solution. It is this type of formal or informal activity which we attempt to describe in this section. We hope to show in what form the federal agencies are administering the overall government policy on bilingualism and biculturalism and what internal planning process is taking place as a result.

In this section we have selected eleven case studies. All of them reflect the Ottawa milieu and of course in describing the way the departments approached each of the particular problem areas, there was much that was relevant to the more general question of administrative style. However, we thought it would be useful in this section to bring together the specific material related to over-all planning problems.



Our approach upon contact with these federal organizations was to initiate group discussions for the purpose of implementing a continuing process of bilingual and bicultural planning. The reaction we received was extremely varied and depended to a great extent on the individual senior officials of each department and agency. However, to a great extent it also depended on the particular nature of the organization itself. Since the functions of the 15 departments and agencies are different from each other, each one is unique in size, importance, status and power. Therefore, the type of person to be found in each department will depend to a great extent on these organizational factors. Consequently, the reactions of the different department and agencies towards the concept of bilingual and bicultural planning are due to the inherent features of their framework, as well as to the personalities of the senior officials of the Public Service.

#### Department 1

It was the Deputy Minister's view that, in spite of the investigation still being carried on by the Commission and by the Inter-Departmental Committee, some immediate progress was desirable. He had initiated several small



projects which he said had been thwarted by the I.D.C. who told him to await the results of their own investigation. A management consultant firm which was helping this department in reorganization also advised against introducing bilingual and bicultural changes at the same time as general reorganization was taking place.

The Deputy Minister agreed to the discussion group process and introduced it to his senior officers as a search for continuing process and not for instant bilingualism. We were there to look into the successes of other departments. It felt that it was not up to date and wanted to gather more information. Later, the bilingualism and biculturalism officer became quite exasperated at our reluctance to divulge the names of the other departments which were carrying on similar courses of actions. Our own usefulness, as far as this department is concerned, depended to some extent on our role in keeping in touch with the events in other departments.

The first discussion group ended with the institution of a B. and B. committee consisting of the Assistant Deputy Ministers of the three branches. The sole French-Canadian Assistant Deputy Minister was named the chairman, and the Deputy Minister suggested that more junior officers, as



well as senior ones, should become involved. He wanted the committee to set things in motion, formulate specific tasks, and actually see to their implementation.

This departmental B. and B. committee set up a sub-committee which met throughout August 1965 and prepared a detailed report covering all aspects of bilingualism and biculturalism. It established its own terms of reference, which included investigative work, estimates of needs and related costs and the preparation of actual programs. More specifically, the sub-committee recommended that it be empowered to establish a schedule of language training objectives and to ally career development more closely to bilingualism and biculturalism.

The full committee met in September to discuss the sub-committee report. For the first time, we were invited to participate in an internal decision-making session of the department. In effect, we were asked to take on a staff function, since we were the so-called specialists in this area. The principal procedural development which resulted from this meeting was an agreement to provide the B. and B. sub-committee with a permanent secretariat. This appeared in the sub-committee's report:



D. "Recommended Program of Action(1) Administration

- (a) Establish a Departmental secretariat comprising at least one full-time officer to do research, paper-work and general co-ordination in this field and to be the working arm of the Sub-Committee and to report to its Chairman".

Although virtually the whole report, which described numerous excellent aims, was accepted by the full committee, the permanent secretariat was the only serious attempt to give the department a mechanism for putting into practice the principles so finely determined. Sometime later on, a departmental officer was appointed, probably due to the momentum of the meeting, although it appears that two of the three Assistant Deputy Ministers forming the B. and B. committee were hesitant to be so decisive in this area. The appointment was scheduled for 12-15 months with the officer to be located in the Deputy Minister's office and reporting to the sub-committee chairman. The drafting of a job description was postponed until the department was ready to state precisely what it wanted the permanent secretariat to do.



The department was affected by the major reorganizational changes late in 1965, and the position of the new bilingualism and biculturalism officer was jeopardized, since his branch was to go to another department. Although there were some who tried to carry on the B. and B. committee idea, with alternate members, most of the senior officers found they had to devote their full time to reorganization. No energy could be sacrificed for bilingualism and biculturalism. However, it was finally decided that the officer would be loaned back to the department as a full-time Bicultural Projects Officer.

The B. and B. committee has not yet been reconstituted, although its chairman, an Assistant Deputy Minister, counseled the new Deputy Minister not to neglect its useful work. He expressed the hope that the members of the committee would bring the progress achieved to the attention of the three departments to which they were going.

The new Deputy Minister appears to have a different style. The Bicultural Projects Officer is still quite active, but it remains to be seen whether the department will re-institute the systematic planning of the former B. and B. committee.



Department 2

This department never did set up a formal committee on bilingualism and biculturalism, but the department head and other senior officials were involved with bilingual and bicultural decision-making throughout our contact with them. The department agreed to set up discussion groups designed to stimulate senior officers into thinking and acting in this area. One senior executive expressed it this way: "Apart from language courses, we've done no thinking on the subject; so it can't help but work." The department head welcomed our efforts and complained that there was no leadership in the Public Service on bilingualism and biculturalism.

Our discussion groups went well and provided a forum for senior level deliberation. Specific courses of action were identified and the senior officials expressed their commitment to act on certain measures. However, the department has not yet moved ahead on a coordinated basis. The specific courses of action agreed upon evidently did not receive enough priority to be actually carried out. The department is sympathetic to bilingualism and biculturalism generally, and does act whenever a suitable occasion arises. In particular, we might mention the



windfall of French-Canadian social scientists whom the department made vigorous attempts to recruit.

The department recognized specific problems and identified possible solutions, but only really acted when a problem became urgent. Such was the case with language training, which generated several meetings with us and finally with the Civil Service Commission. In this area, the agency has decided to act and hire a bilingual and bicultural coordinator to deal specifically with this problem.

The department's greatest preoccupation lay with language training and follow up measures which would be complementary to the Civil Service Commission courses. When the department began thinking in terms of hiring a special coordinator for this operation, the possibility of extending the officer's duties was also considered. The following two points describing possible functions of the officer, illustrate their concern for a wider application of the officer's role.

"4. The accommodation in (the department) of French-speaking persons.

5. Review of our French questionnaires and publications for lucidity and style. This may be a separate function.

This calls not for a linguist but mainly for a French-speaking administrator."



Since the drafting of these duties for discussion purposes, the department has spoken to another department about its plans for hiring an officer with functions similar to that of a Bicultural Projects Officer. After this conversation and further deliberation, it appears that the wider concept of bilingualism and biculturalism is being recognized as a problem which should be dealt with on a more systematic basis.

### Department 3

When it was proposed that a group discussion treat the feasibility of theoretical courses of action, the French-Canadian Deputy Minister readily acquiesced, saying, "Cela m'intéresse beaucoup." As we participated in the first group discussion, we had the feeling that the department had already gone over much of the same ground before. Another meeting was proposed at the close of the first one, but the group did not appear very willing to carry on the procedure. However, an agenda of discussion topics was proposed, and on this basis we agreed to meet further.



For the second and third group discussions of senior officers, a detailed background paper was prepared by the department. This substantiated our belief that previous discussion had taken place and the department was taking advantage of the Action-Research project to follow through on some specific matters of concern. They seemed to view our presence as a catalyst and they went on to identify in detail the operational difficulties facing the department. One officer commented that after preparing for months, we had finally made the department psychologically prepared to act.

The department spent a lot of time involved in a strategy discussion about how to approach the Civil Service Commission and Treasury Board. It felt that the department could make a fairly convincing case in certain areas, and such courses of action would be innovative. Therefore, through the Deputy Minister's office, the department thoroughly reviewed all possible avenues to initiate these special projects. As yet, it appears that they have not acted, although we have done our best to smooth the way with the control agencies.



We held one discussion group separately with one sub-agency of this department, which revealed the feeling that bilingualism and biculturalism is not a problem which can be attacked in piecemeal fashion. The senior officers felt there was nothing they could do until the government provided the direction, and at present it was giving no lead. The establishment of a high priority by the government on bilingualism and biculturalism would make them "go for broke". That was all they were waiting for. In fact they were alarmed that neither was being done, because they felt there was much latent enthusiasm which could "go sour" unless leadership were provided soon. Individuals did things on their own, only to be discouraged.

#### Department 4

The Deputy Minister of this department reacted very strongly to our approach. He objected to our "interference" with his department's affairs and claimed he was already dealing with specific bilingualism and biculturalism problems. We held no group discussion, largely because he was wary of the role we would play in such a process. He was not enthusiastic about our "sophisticated" methodology and described his own planning process as an "ad hoc, seat of the pants" kind.



We eventually talked to the Deputy Minister's executive assistant, who said there was direct senior officer encouragement of bilingual and bicultural courses of action, especially in respect to language training participation. He noted several other specific individual efforts, such as in the field of French-Canadian recruitment, but overall he considered that the department at present places a rather low priority on bilingualism and biculturalism.

Although the Deputy Minister did not mention it, the Chief of Training and Development in a sister department had assigned an officer in early 1965 to advise the two departments on language training. Bilingualism and biculturalism became the full-time concern of this officer as he gradually began to take on other Bicultural Projects Officer functions. He now appears to be occupied in bilingual and bicultural affairs as they arise, such as preparing the two departments for the French-Canadian students this summer. In addition, he also takes his own initiative in carrying out specific functions.

This Bicultural Projects Officer has not officially been given a position indicating that he is the officer responsible for bilingualism and biculturalism, but he has drafted specifications himself for such a position.



The draft is strongly worded and proposes that the officer ("coordinator of bilingual services") be in a position to advise the senior levels on the bilingual and bicultural implications of all policy decisions, as well as being responsible for certain courses of action. The suggested classification is a fairly senior one and the two departments are currently deciding on whether to carry through this initiative.

According to our latest information, the department has not taken any decision on the proposed Bicultural Projects Officer position. It appears that bilingualism and biculturalism is just not receiving the kind of priority which will result in concrete action. The incumbent of the de facto Bicultural Projects Officer position is disappointed at the department's lack of concern for bilingual and bicultural planning.

#### Department 5

The English-Canadian Assistant Deputy agreed to the discussion group procedure and two such group sessions were subsequently held. A memo with an agenda for the second meeting was sent to all departmental participants (and not to us), which announced that this would be the last session of this kind. The message was quite clear.



The senior officials felt that they had fairly thoroughly covered the bilingualism and biculturalism area in two group discussions. They were convinced that they had tried all feasible courses of action, and that they had the best will in the world.

We later suggested to the two Assistant Deputy Ministers that the department had perhaps a tendency to over-emphasize obstacles to the solution of the problem, rather than to search for possible solutions. The Assistant Deputy Minister in charge of research asked us to recognize that most of the senior employees were technicians who regarded any interference in their work as nonsensical. However, they are also civil servants; if the government declared a certain policy, they realized that it was their duty to implement this policy. Nevertheless, for any increased activity of a non-scientific kind, they would require further resources. After all, they could not jeopardize their chief responsibility of scientific work for extraneous goals such as bilingualism and biculturalism.

The English-Canadian Assistant Deputy Minister was very dissatisfied with the "half-assed" government policy, and considered that it was unfair to make the Public Service decide for itself on this issue. The two Assistant Deputy



Ministers talked of the possibility of instituting a policy group under the French-Canadian Assistant Deputy Minister to establish a number of bilingual and bicultural criteria for the department. We encouraged the department to fit bilingualism and biculturalism into the planning process of their whole organization for the influence of bilingualism and biculturalism on decision-making could be considerably broadened.

The Assistant Deputy Ministers agreed with our impression that their bilingual and bicultural planning presently consisted of operating from crisis to crisis in an ad hoc manner. The French-Canadian Assistant Deputy Minister called for a change in attitudes of the personnel, in order to induce the busy scientists to regard bilingualism and biculturalism as an issue which should be taken under consideration as a matter of course.

The two Assistant Deputy Ministers were inclined to believe that the procedure to plan for bilingualism and biculturalism should be systematized. They were now prepared to consider an incremental approach. The concept of an executive assistant or another type of special officer assigned to undertake an internal round-up of bilingualism and biculturalism within the department,



was discussed. The department felt that perhaps a special estimate could be put forward to pay for this additional position.

Unfortunately, the department does not appear to have translated its good intentions into action. Four months after these conversations, we discovered that the department has done nothing to follow-up this and other courses of action. The English-Canadian Assistant Deputy Minister whom we saw, promised to inquire further into the possibility of setting up two committees for specific bilingual and bicultural planning purposes. However, his department was greatly affected by the reorganization of late 1965, and the new Deputy Minister now says their inaction is due to this development. Nevertheless, the prevailing attitude of this department even before the reorganizational change, was not encouraging as far as the institution of bilingual and bicultural planning is concerned.

#### Department 6

As a direct result of our contact, this department established a very elaborate bilingual and bicultural planning process. The Deputy Minister had felt constrained by the control agencies' discouragement of individual departmental initiatives. Perhaps scattered attempts to



encourage bilingualism and biculturalism are inefficient, but the Deputy Minister considered that such steps are at least in the right direction. Failures could be regarded as useful lessons for future policy. The main problem remained, as he put it, to get the ball rolling in the right direction. He therefore welcomed our approach.

In the first discussion group, involving the directors of administrative divisions, the Deputy Minister explained our interest in instituting a planning process. One of the participants commented that objectives should be established before the department could formulate its plan. We replied that this step was implied in the planning process and was the responsibility of the department. Later, the same departmental officer exclaimed that the department was used to solving problems thrust upon them, but seldom did it have the opportunity of defining the problem in the first place.

The department's only significant complaint about our first group discussion was that it was not sufficiently achievement-oriented. The officers wanted more direction from us. A director-general was assigned the responsibility of bilingual and bicultural activity, but he met in committee to formulate recommendations for the Deputy



Minister. Certain goals were established and the possibility of a permanent bilingual and bicultural officer to conduct a continuing bilingualism and biculturalism program was discussed.

We met with the director-general of administration, appointed chairman of the B. and B. Committee, and his immediate concern was to involve the other division of the department.<sup>56</sup> He thought in terms of a work group comprising the six directors-general of the department, the director of personnel and Action-Research staff. The initial aim of this committee would be to establish departmental policy along the lines of what little government policy there was in this field. The new chairman also wanted to look for guidance from us, for he felt that we could provide some expertise and the experience of other departments and agencies. In addition, he wanted to retain contact with the Inter-Departmental Committee. At the same time, the establishment of an intermediate officer was, in his opinion, a useful move.

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56. There were two separate divisions in this department, each with a Deputy Minister at the head.



At the first meeting of the newly constituted B. and B. committee, the committee formally established itself as the advisor to the two Deputy Ministers. A full-time bilingual and bicultural officer to handle daily requirements also resulted from the discussion, although it was not decided whether the department would simply bastardize a technical writer position already granted to them, or establish an entirely new position. In a later meeting, the proposed B.P.O. position was placed in the personnel branch while reporting to the chairman of the departmental B. and B. committee. A list of duties for the position was drafted and sent to the Treasury Board for approval. This department was the first to submit specifications for the position for official approval.

A great deal of time during these B. and B. committee meetings was spent discussing the various aspects of the B.P.O. position. But while the department was going through the procedure of establishing the new position, it was not proceeding with other courses of action. The committee seems to place a great deal of dependence on the new B.P.O., although the problem of finding a suitable individual is still not satisfied. Our own services were employed, and we were also requested to provide information about B.P.O. positions in other departments.



The B. and B. committee also became the forum for all subjects related to bilingualism and biculturalism. Suitable language-training arrangements involving the decisions, such as whether particular officers could be spared for full or half-time language training courses, the handling of Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commission questionnaires were discussed. It also appeared that the relative priority of bilingualism and biculturalism fluctuated considerably, depending on the current situation within the department. Aside from the organized meetings, it seems that not much effort is devoted to bilingual and bicultural problems.

#### Department 7

We approached the sole Assistant Deputy Minister of the department, expressing our desire to observe their testing of theoretical solutions. This senior officer did not feel he could arrange a group discussion with his four-man management committee, due to their heavy daily commitments, but he offered to convoke officers at a more junior level.



There appeared to be no specific bilingual and bicultural planning or any desire to have it. Agitation from a Quebec regional office had precipitated some minor changes (bilingual stamps), but the head office thought this stamp business 'irrational'.

We maintained our connection with this department for a long period, due to their interest in a particular course of action (receptive language training). The department would only consider specifics, such as receptive language training, and did not see the necessity of greater overall planning. Even their approach to receptive language training was extremely cautious. In order to conduct experimentation of this nature, the department wanted to be sure that the project was theoretically sound, that it would definitely be beneficial to its employees, and that either the Royal Commission or the C.S.C. officially espoused the idea.

#### Department 8

The French-Canadian department head agreed immediately with the usefulness of a discussion group to air tentative or experimental answers to the department's particular problems. This action-oriented approach was considered the only valid one for this senior officer, since the



department was already thoroughly aware of the bilingualism and biculturalism issues. Various devices, such as circulation of newspaper clippings, unilingual memos, etc., were ample demonstration that the encouragement of bilingualism and biculturalism was a conscious effort on the part of the senior management.

After one group discussion, the department head delegated the bilingual and bicultural planning to a small work group, headed by an able French-Canadian Assistant-Director of administration. It was his opinion that only the appointment of a new type of officer would force the department to proceed beyond simple matters, such as making all forms bilingual. He volunteered to take the initiative by starting a pilot project. One of his junior administrative officers was to be shifted to duties involving bilingualism and biculturalism courses of action. It was felt that the functions of a new officer would, in reality, depend greatly on the actual incumbent.

For several months, this French-Canadian officer concerned himself in strategy as to how such an officer might be accepted by his superiors. He wanted to wait for the right moment. Finally, an acute problem of translation arose in the agency and this situation created a distinct need for a new kind of officer. The translation



issue was seized as a concrete reason to convince senior management of the position's necessity. It was felt that only reasons of efficiency and economy would cause the executive committee to look favourably on the proposal.

Eventually, a coordinator of translation was approved and actually hired. The selling points of the idea were undoubtedly the identification of three substantial bilingualism and biculturalism problems with which the agency was being confronted. The officer was assigned certain functions and was given a specific niche in the hierarchy.

It is in this way that the department had developed a planning process for bilingualism and biculturalism. The executive committee waits to take decisions on issues as they arise, but the senior officers appear very responsive to the needs of bilingual and bicultural adaptation. The new coordinator of translation was hired for specific reasons, but he seems destined to broaden his functions and may, in effect, become the department's internal bilingualism and biculturalism planning mechanism.



Department 9

The Deputy Minister of this department objected at first to our approach, but eventually agreed that the discussion group process was "a good excuse for us to get organized". He even suggested that we hold meetings at a rate of a couple per month. He also promised us one of his Assistant Deputy Ministers to organize these sessions.

We participated in three of these group discussions and our role evolved into a type of staff function. We were called upon to provide information about other departments and generally furnish ideas as to how they might proceed in their own organization. During the second meeting, the Assistant Deputy Minister commented in an offhand manner, that the various useful thoughts which arise from these discussions would be put together in the form of a report. As it is, he discusses the more significant aspects in conversation with the Deputy Minister.

At the third meeting, the Assistant Deputy Minister formalized the group into a B. and B. committee which is to function on a continuing basis. To ensure its effectiveness, it was thought that a full-time officer should form an



operative arm. Thus, the concept of the B.P.O. arose, and the department appeared enthusiastic about instituting such a position.

Although this committee and permanent B.P.O. appear to be the potential mechanism to carry on the department's internal bilingualism and biculturalism planning, the department also intends to introduce bilingualism and biculturalism into training programs presently undergoing re-organization. In this way, it is envisaged that bilingualism and biculturalism will be considered as a matter of course in the formation of all training programs, especially the orientation of new recruits.

#### Department 10

The recurrent theme of the Deputy Minister of this department was that an enlightened atmosphere towards bilingualism and biculturalism prevailed in his department and that this attitude had been entirely voluntary in development. There had been no necessity to stimulate this way of thinking among the staff. There were a number of individual efforts on the part of the department to deal with bilingual and bicultural problems. For instance, there was a great deal of emphasis on language



training and much participation in the French-Canadian summer student internship program. Also, it was mentioned that an officer in the personnel branch had been assigned to assist in the development of bilingualism and biculturalism.<sup>57</sup> In general, we also found the department, headed by the Deputy Minister, placed a great reliance in the work of the I.D.C. We were forced to wonder whether this was not an excuse for delaying any action within the department itself.

In the second group discussion, which had to be our last, due to our own constraints in time, we mentioned that sometimes other departments had established permanent mechanisms for bilingual and bicultural planning. The Deputy Minister was not in favour of institutionalizing such a group, for he felt that bilingual and bicultural adjustment should not be forced, but must be voluntary. One Assistant Deputy Minister, however, declared that the experience he had with a B. and B. committee in another department (department 1, in fact), had been favourable. The personnel director thought a planning process might

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57. Unfortunately, we were not able to follow up this particular revelation.



be very useful in the rational organization of language training. Another senior officer made a strong statement for some form of planning group to deal with language training as well as other matters. The Deputy Minister remained in favour of handling bilingualism and biculturalism problems as they arose in the management committee meetings. He felt that they should act on developments, rather than stimulate them artificially.

We understand that this idea of some form of procedure for dealing with bilingual and bicultural problems has not been forgotten, and was the subject of discussion in a management committee meeting. It would be interesting to see whether the senior officers can change the position of the Deputy Minister on this issue.

#### Department 11

The Deputy Minister was quite receptive to the idea of instituting a bilingual and bicultural planning process, for thus far, the department had had only ad hoc planning. These piecemeal efforts had led to fairly inconclusive results. This Deputy Minister envisaged the first meeting as a discussion of his department's problems, initiatives and experiences. From this basis, he hoped it would become



a continuing process and lead into a study of the financial implications as well.

The first discussion group revealed several initiatives, such as internal language training begun in 1962, which the department had undertaken. The Deputy Minister also asked for discussion on departmental objectives, but eventually concluded that a great deal of thinking was necessary to establish long-term aims before setting up a practical program.

After the second session, it was felt that only one or two more would be necessary to lay down broad policy lines for the department. From this point, some form of permanent mechanism was envisaged as the logical step to carry out the policy.

After the third discussion group, the department decided to put together the ideas arising from these meetings. From this point, they intended to make a decision as to how they want to formalize the process by the introduction of a permanent mechanism.



CHAPTER IVThe Action Experience: An Evaluation

The experience we have described in Chapter III involved many people, both from the Public Service and from the Action Research team, over a considerable period of time. Some contacts were brief, others extended; in some cases there was a flurry of activity after our first contact; in others we "hardly got past the boss' door". In one way or another, the personal factor was hardly ever absent: one individual has unpleasant memories of French-Canadian wartime anti-Semitism; another Deputy Minister, a French Canadian who holds a key position, is such a rigidly conformist bureaucrat that it is doubtful if he would order a pencil without written authorization from the Treasury Board let alone launch himself into a reform programme in bilingualism and biculturalism. Also, although we have attempted to report what occurred as dispassionately as possible, still we recognize that inevitably a subjective element cannot be excluded.

Perhaps the reader will have begun to wonder what is to be learned by the Commission from the diverse and often seemingly inconclusive encounters which we have just described. How are we to evaluate such evidence without allowing the subjective element to distort it? Or, an even more fundamental question, which if we cannot answer, must invalidate all of our



evidence at once, namely: are we not naively confusing administrative with political functions? After all, more than one public servant told us that he was only waiting for leadership from the government.

Then, there is the question of whether our evidence may already be out of date, due to the firmer stand taken by the government this spring and the creation of a bilingualism and biculturalism secretariat in the Prime Minister's office.

#### Governmental Structure

Such questions are valid, but they perhaps spring from a fundamental misconception of what we were trying to find out and of the actual relationship that exists between the political and administrative arms of government. Inevitably, we all of us carry in our heads certain "images" of reality some of which may more or less accurately reflect it, and some of which may just as successfully distort or hide it.<sup>59</sup> One commonly held image of the relationship of the government bureaucracy to its "boss", the Cabinet, and ultimately, Parliament, is described something like this: the Minister

59. Chapter III of the Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is devoted to showing the divergent images people hold in their minds of the reality of Canada and how "the image of his country that each Canadian has forged for himself inevitably determined his assessment of the present predicament and formed the background and basis of his participation in the discussion". (Italics ours)



is at the "apex" of the great departmental pyramid. Under him is his Deputy Minister who supervises the work of a group of officials, each of whom in turn supervises the work of another larger group of officials, and so on until "the most humble member of the department is affected".<sup>60</sup>

"Instructions and orders flow from the supreme head down through subordinates until they culminate in action at the appropriate level."<sup>61</sup>

Even though qualified observers in the fields of political science, politics and journalism in Canada, the United Kingdom and elsewhere have lately more than once questioned the accuracy of this description,<sup>62</sup> still the image is a remarkably persistent one. This may be accounted for by two things: first, the image is a convenient one for both government and the Public Service to maintain since it serves each one's purposes very well;<sup>63</sup> secondly, the notion of the unquestioning obedience of the Public Service and its non-involvement in policy formation is so deeply ingrained in our democratic ethos that every piece of

60. McGregor Dawson, The Government of Canada, 4th ed., Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1963, p. 260.

61. Ibid, p. 221.

62. See for example the proceedings of the Couchiching Conference of 1964 for a thorough discussion of this question.

63. For a full discussion of this phenomenon in democratic societies, see Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics.



evidence which shows the reverse tends to be taken to be an aberration from the norm. It appears to be hard even to phrase the question whether the simplistic type of control described by Dawson simply does not exist, or where it does, now represents the exception, not the rule.<sup>64</sup>

How then is one to properly describe the relationship between Cabinet and the Public Service? One might begin with another image; that of a somewhat unequal partnership, in which the government has the responsibility for operations in the political field, while the Public Service holds the

64. Dawson himself is a witness to this. p. 213: "All government measures with very few examples are the joint product of the Cabinet and the civil service. The initial inspiration or impulse will often originate with an individual minister or the Cabinet and a rash minister will sometimes make public commitments without consultation with his staff or even with his colleagues; but this is only the beginning. The proposal must be examined, criticized, appraised in the light of past experience, adapted and recast many times before it is ready for trial or for incorporation in a Government bill; and at all stages in this proving process the practical knowledge and information of the civil servants are of inestimable value. On the other hand the process may be reversed; for an enormous number of new and modified policies grow out of the administration of existing statutes and regulations. These policies will almost invariably originate with the civil servants themselves who alone are in a position to draw upon the experience and wealth of data which have been built up through many years of administrative practice. (Italics ours)

P.256. It is obvious that the opportunity to exercise control becomes more and more unreal as functions become more varied and complex and as the number under the minister's direction increases. A carefully planned organization can do much to overcome these handicaps, yet even with the most efficient methods, the subordinates at some level under the minister will inevitably require more power. The constant assertion of the principle of ministerial responsibility will cover to some degree the actual delegation of authority which had taken place. (Italics ours)



complementary responsibility of coordinating administrative policy to accord with political requirements. The public servants defer to their political partners, but deference is not the same thing as obedience. For its part, the government consults with, and often depends on, the administrative arm for advice, support and help in developing policy. Civil servants are usually not anxious to usurp their partner's political functions; in fact, it is to their advantage not to have to make the political decisions, and they may become extraordinarily sensitive to the political implications of certain courses of action. They thus become useful not only for the professional advice they may give Ministers, but often for the depth of the political judgment they may bring. Neither Ministers nor Deputies, when they are candid, are likely to deny this political function of Deputies as advisers.

For their part, wise cabinet ministers are restrained in the advice they give to Deputies in the administrative conduct of their departments. Again, consultation may be frequent, and civil servants must always be conscious of the political realities which move Ministers at times in relation to administrative matters. As a general principle, however, it is safe to say that our Public Service is extraordinarily free, in its day-to-day operations, of political interference



of any kind.<sup>65</sup>

A study of what the government has said about bilingualism and biculturalism in relation to the Public Service, and what it has done appears to bear out our supposition. Since as early as 1962, the statements of responsible government politicians, including the Prime Minister, have been remarkably direct and free of hedging in relation to the necessity of a fully bilingual Public Service. What the government has done, however, in giving administrative reality to its policy, has been to turn the matter over to the Public Service itself to be studied. When, in due time (almost three years later), the Inter-departmental Committee had considered the problem fully, certain recommendations were made to the Cabinet, and, following further consultations with Civil Service staff associations, the government made these recommendations the basis of a public policy declaration. The new policy was generally well received by the Public Service, and even such civil service watchdogs as M.P. Dick Bell were unable to find anything very menacing in the new proposals. We should not be surprised.

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65. By this is not meant that it may ever ignore political realities; on the contrary, administrative and political policies must be very closely co-ordinated. The government does hold the ultimate power of life and death over the existence of departments, and the Public Service must be aware of this.



The other question raised at the beginning of this chapter concerns the difficulty of evaluating evidence which shows such a diversity of individual reactions on the part of the public servants we had dealings with. But this proves easier than it might appear when we remember one essential fact, which is that public servants live in a total field of pressures all the time, which originate both inside and outside the Public Service. Among these pressures, the pressure to conform to government policy is the strongest perhaps, but it is not the only one. In fact, it would probably not be too great an exaggeration to say that the greatest skill required of a top-line administrator is the ability to maintain an air of stability in his department in the face of these complex and compelling pressures. Naturally, he must become sensitive to those pressures which "count", and those which don't. It is this fact which gives us the clue how to evaluate the range of experiences described in Chapter III.

#### Pressures for Change

The question is whether or not the pressures for change in the Public Service in bilingualism and biculturalism matters are real or imaginary in the eyes of the public servants. This governs whether or not they will move or stand pat. There are many and diverse pressures from society as a whole, but what we will consider here is the critical authoritative pressure from the government which to an extent reflect societal pressures. Does this pressure have real substance?



The sweeping but general policy pronouncements were turned over to the Interdepartmental Committee on Bilingualism and Bi-culturalism. This body faced the usual constraints to action of all inter-departmental committees,\* but it is not a typical inter-departmental committee. Among its members are some of the most important and respected of Canada's public servants. It was given a sweeping and urgent mandate. Its members individually and collectively can communicate with the Cabinet and the Prime Minister on short notice. Furthermore, its members have power within their respective departments and some of them at least, possess a unique power as the senior policy advisors to the government.

Yet it did not give any full report of recommendations until two and one half years after its formation. The committee met sporadically. It had no supporting research staff and a pitifully small part-time secretariat. A number of its members stated that it did not even have the power to, for example, engage supporting staff to speed up the process of policy formation. The intimation was that it was not even in a position to request this power. Here we perceived the anomalie of a group of the most highly-placed and powerful of Canada's public servants who on the one hand professed their concern for an urgent and critical Canadian problem and on the other claimed to be hampered by a lack of resources in developing a policy to meet it. The time they could devote was limited and they had no authority to get staff.

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\* See Appendix IV for fuller explanation.



It seems quite clear that the depth and urgency of the task given to the Inter-departmental Committee as evidenced in governmental statements was not perceived as a major pressure by many if not most of its members. On the contrary they, accustomed as they are through daily contact with their political leaders, interpreted the pressure as one to be considered but not on a high priority basis. The reaction of this committee was reflected in the departments. It is borne out by the fact that no real pressure at the departmental level was found as a result of the Action Research process, as we will show below. After a number of promising starts and evidence of commitment by senior departmental officials, there was essentially no follow-through after the withdrawal of the Action Research stimulus.

For this reason, it seems productive to think of the Action Research project as a series of experiments. The steps of the experiments were:

- 1) Stimulus - Direct approach to department with diplomatic request to address themselves to problem. In general, we discovered two things immediately: a) No previous systematic approach to the problem by departments, and b) a pervasive but unfocussed concern.



- 2) Direct Re-inforcement<sup>66</sup> - Where our original stimulus was effective, we then worked to sustain and build on the original impetus, by verbal encouragement, consulting assistance, frequent telephone calls, and other such means.
- 3) Indirect Re-inforcement - As a secondary re-inforcement we attempted to establish mutually reinforcing links between different departments and between departments and central agencies. Consciousness of activity in several departments and support from central agencies, was necessary if momentum to be sustained, particularly since Action Research project had a time limit.
- 4) Evaluation - If original stimulus and follow-ups by Action Research were successful in getting considerable activity underway in departments, subsequent failure to follow through would be evidence of lack of pressure on departments from quarters other than Action Research.

#### Graphic Illustration of Change

The tables which follow are intended to show the stages of the experiments graphically. Each table charts the momentum of the introduction of bilingualism and biculturalism

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66. The notion of stimulus and re-inforcement owes something to the theory of operant conditioning, developed in behaviourist psychology. See B.F. Skinner, Science and Human Behaviour MacMillan, 1953. In particular, Section II.



in a specific department over the period of time in which contacts were made by Action Research.\*

The lefthand vertical column marks off the levels, or stages, of change that were established by the Research, going from the stage of general ideas and objectives to the stage of significant change. Each block shows the level of planning reached at particular points in time and an arrow is used to indicate the direction of the next step i.e. progressive or retrograde. The complete series of blocks represents the steps of the planning process in each department.

The pressures which were alluded to by the public servants themselves in each time sequence, as either supporting (+) or inhibiting (-) development of a bilingual and bicultural capacity, are found at the top of the tables, though they do not necessarily act directly upon the progress of change.

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\*These graphic presentations cannot be made with exactitude. Nevertheless they are valid illustration of qualitative trends.



Table I

In this department the original attitudes were favorable to change and it was generally agreed that a more bicultural department was necessary for two reasons: (i) its services to the public and (ii) a heavy concentration of French-Canadian employees necessitates more internal usage of French. As a result, the senior officers began to enumerate several possible ideas which culminated in the establishment of a general secretariat. A position was created to take on responsibility for all bilingual and bicultural matters. This officer, because of various organizational difficulties, was rendered ineffective through lack of power and support.

#### Glossary of Abbreviations

A.D.M.	-	Assistant Deputy Minister
B.P.O.	-	Bilingual Projects Officer
C.S.C.	-	Civil Service Commission
D.M.	-	Deputy Minister
E.C.	-	English Canadian
F.C.	-	French Canadian
L.T.	-	Language training
P.M.	-	Prime Minister
T.B.	-	Treasury Board



TABLE I

DEPARTMENT 1

TIME PERIOD 10 MONTHS

20 CONTACT

PRESURES perceived in each contact period supporting (+) or inhibiting (-) development of bilingual and bicultural ca- pacity.	↓ (+) Heavy concentration of F.C.'s in dept. (-) C.S.C. & T.B. (-) Dept's reorganization takes priority. (-) Efficiency conflicts with B & B. (-) High costs. (-) No govt direction.	↓ (+) Nature of Dept's. functions. (+) Public support for more S & B Public Service. (-) Fear of individuals in dept. (-) T.B. (-) Lack of govt policy.	↓ (-) Some AIM's uncommitted. (-) Many other objectives besides B & B.	↓ (+) B.P.O. very concien- tious. (-) Expect opposition from T.B. over position. (-) Fears among the lower echelons.	↓ (-) Committee may resent having too much to do. (-) Reorganization of depts. has priority.	↓ (-) B & B given little priority. (-) B.P.O. getting "fed up".	↓ (+) Need for FC's in the dept. (+) P.N. 's policy statement.
STAGE OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGE							
STAGE OF IMPLEMENTING COURSES OF ACTION				B.P.O. named & attached to a B & B committee. Linguist contracted as part-time consultant.	Budget for B & B being formulated.		
STAGE OF DEFINING COURSES OF ACTION		D.M.- emphasizes short terms goals. Secretariat established for research paperwork & co-ordination.	B.P.O. outline sent to D.M. approval.	B.P.O. to begin interviews to define some courses of action. Committee reluctant to proceed with specific courses of action.	Committee disbanded because of reorganization. B.P.O. left with little power. New D.M. to be informed of activities.		
STAGE OF SPECIFYING IDEAS	Exchanges between regional offices to supplement L.T. Post-Course training. Encourage Quebec offices to submit reports in French. Cocktail parties Orientation programs for senior execs.	Improve L.T. training methods. A sub-committee formed to study problems & make recommendations. Manuals in French and English.				B.P.O. forming a new task force. "Must start all over again". Waiting for directives from the dept. - Advisory group proposed to aid in recruitment of F.C.S.	
STAGE OF GENERAL IDEAS AND OBJECTIVES	Greater bilingual capacity by increasing: 1. Services to public. 2. Internal language use.			Note: Since a new D.M. had been appointed after re-organization, this orientation session brought the planning process back to the realm of general ideas. A new cycle began.	Environment where two cultures & languages felt. The need for F.C.S. in the new dept. makes personal contact with F.C. candidates necessary.		
CONTACT PERIOD	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN



Table II

Officials in this department also recognized the need for change for various reasons. As they began to elaborate and expand on their ideas, they more and more concentrated on two specific areas which, due to the organizational set-up within the government, are not the responsibilities of the departments per se. The bilingual and bicultural committee found itself in constant opposition to the control agencies and therefore its good intentions never produced any concrete results.

#### Glossary of Abbreviations

C.S.C.	-	Civil Service Commission
D.M.	-	Deputy Minister
E.	-	English
F.	-	French
L.T.	-	Language training
P.S.	-	Public Service
U.N.	-	United Nations



TABLE II

DEPARTMENT 2

TIME PERIOD

10 MONTHS

14 CONTACTS

PRESSURES perceived in each contact period supporting (+) or inhibiting (-) development of bilingual and bicultural capacity.	STAGE OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGE	TIME PERIOD						
		ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN
		(+) Commitment of senior officers. (-) No leadership anywhere in P.S. (-) Host scientific work in English. (-) Centralized translation.	(+) "Unity of the country". (-) Staff backlash. (-) T.B. (-) Limited financial and personnel resources.	(+) Unity of the country. (-) Daily problems override long range ones. (-) Govt only sanctioned modest training program. (-) Limited resources. (-) Present unwillingness.	(-) C.S.C. (-) Dept. does not have time, resources or authority. (-) Many and varied needs of dept.	(-) C.S.C. (-) Time and resources.	(-) Necessity of centralization.	
	STAGE OF IMPLEMENTING COURSES OF ACTION							
	STAGE OF DEFINING COURSES OF ACTION							
	STAGE OF SPECIFYING IDEAS							
FIRST CONTACT	STAGE OF GENERAL IDEAS AND OBJECTIVES	Need for new type of translator in each division. F. & E. editorial boards. Orientation sessions for senior execs. New kind of L.T.	All publications in F. & E. to be put out simultaneously. Executive linguist & sensitivity training to be explored. Post-course language usage required.	Meeting held in Montreal with execs. Techniques of sensitivity training discussed. D.M. classifies problem "important, not urgent".	Met with officials of C.S.C. regarding L.T. and recruitment. Dept. to become "guinea-pig" and would design a L.T. program suited to the needs of the department.	Specifics of an L.T. program suited to the needs of the dept. discussed by professional linguists and officials in dept. No targets set.	D.M. still talks about establishing L.T. objectives. Some full-time linguists suggested but D.M. still "must" obtain permission from C.S.C.	Confronted C.S.C. with demands for new recruiting procedures, new L.T. program. Nothing concrete achieved as the C.S.C. still retains the responsibility for both L.T. & recruitment.



Table III

All the officers in this specialized department maintained that no real problem existed in spite of the fact that French Canadians were noticeable by their absence at the top management level. Their absence was explained by the fact that the French Canadians do not have "broad business exposure" and because promotion is based on merit alone. In some regional offices, French Canadian managers use French in their daily operations and do submit their reports in their own language. With Quebec's recent educational changes, and the number of French Canadians entering the department there was bound to be French Canadians in the senior officer ranks at some later date. Because the officers felt that the system was very fair, the planning process never proceeded beyond the stage of general ideas.



TABLE III

DEPARTMENT 5

TIME PERIOD

7 MONTHS

6 CONTACTS

<u>PRESURES</u> perceived in each contact period supporting (+) or inhibiting (-) development of bilingual & bicultural capacity	(+) Does business with F.C.'s. (-) Only English used at Senior levels.	(+) Deals with public. (-) Geographic mobility	(-) Dept's image makes recruiting difficult, fundamental for promotion.	(-) "National" nature of dept's functions. (-) Policy statements needed from higher levels.				
<u>STAGE OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGE</u>								
<u>STAGE OF IMPLEMENTING COURSES OF ACTION</u>								
<u>STAGE OF DEFINING COURSES OF ACTION</u>								
<u>STAGE OF SPECIFYING IDEAS</u>								
<u>STAGE OF GENERAL IDEAS AND OBJECTIVES</u>	F.C.'s promoted on merit. English language of commerce. No F.C.'s at top because none were qualified.	All forms bilingual. F.C.'s heads of regional offices. English has broad continental nature. "Competence" and nothing else criterion. F.C. does not have broad business exposure.	Candidates must have pan-Canadian outlook. F.C.'s used to deal with F.C. Dept. already dealing with most of the problems. In some regional offices, French used.	In business one tends to lose one's ethnicity. Necessity of efficiency in business. Dept. operates strictly on the merit system.				
FIRST CONTACT								
CONTACT PERIOD	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN	EIGHT

Because officials believed they were doing all that was possible, the movement didn't get off the ground.

LAST CONTACT



Table IV

Originally, the Deputy Minister displayed a very hostile, negative attitude towards bilingualism and biculturalism because he felt that there was really no problem, but at the same time he did express interest in the Action Research approach. Using this as a lever, we eventually were able to talk to some other senior officers in the department and it became obvious that some awareness for the problems existed in the department, particularly the problem of language training. As early as 1964, the department had hired a junior executive as an advisor on language training; however, his sphere of action and influence is limited to this field and consequently he is unlikely to initiate substantial changes.

## Glossary of Abbreviations

B.P.O.	-	Bilingual Projects Officer
D.M.	-	Deputy Minister
F.C.	-	French Canadian
L.T.	-	Language training



TABLE IV

DEPARTMENT 6

TIME PERIOD 10 MONTHS 8 CONTACTS

PRESURES perceived in each contact period supporting (-) or inhibiting (-) development of bilingual & bicultural capacity	(-) No government direction (-) DM very negative (-) "Operating department" (-) Continues to be no leadership from top. (-) Dept. working under great pressure. (-) Heavy workload	(+) Dealings with Quebec public (-) Low priority on bilingualism and biculturalism. (-) Costs (-) Dominance of English in dept.	(+) B.P.O. (-) Senior levels concentrate on many other things.				
STAGE OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGE							
STAGE OF IMPLEMENTING COURSES OF ACTION							
STAGE OF DEFINING COURSES OF ACTION			B.P.O. had been appointed in 1964 - a junior officer in Personnel to advise on language training. Investigating post-course → language training.				
STAGE OF SPECIFYING IDEAS		Increase mass language training. Looking for time slots in language training program.	B.P.O. met with other B.P.O.s to discuss courses of action. Meeting termed too general, but others will follow.				
STAGE OF GENERAL IDEAS AND OBJECTIVES	D.M. overtly hostile, Government must set policy. D.M. displays interest in Action Research. →	D.M. has Action Research paper analyzed but does not get down to specifics about b. and b. in the department. →	More rational translation policy to reduce wasted resources. Summer internship program has good results. To be extended. ↑ →				
FIRST CONTACT		No translation problems. Numerous F.C.s at senior levels according to D.M. Some problems with L.T.	In most cases the B.P.O. has been restricted by "climate in the department".				
CONTACT PERIOD	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN



## TABLE V

This technical department was adamant in its attitude that English was the "lingua franca" of the scientific and technical world. When accosted with the idea that the Public Service should serve both language groups, the department officials relented somewhat and began to explore translation as a means of compensating this need. Such ideas as bilingual technical editors and information officers were brought forward but always with the reservation that these were costs which could possibly be allocated to more lucrative fields. After more than two months, the department was contacted again and, by its own admission, nothing more had been done about the problem of translation.

## Glossary of Abbreviations

A.D.M.	-	Assistant Deputy Minister
F.C.	-	French Canadian
T.B.	-	Treasury Board



TABLE V

## DEPARTMENT 7

TIME PERIOD 7 MONTHS

7 CONTACTS

PRESURES	(+) Action Research. perceived in each contact period supporting (+) or inhibiting (-) development of bilingual and bicultural capacity	(-) Lack of govt policy.	(+) Duty as a public servant, of English in the world.	(-) Small demand for French.	(+) National Unity.	(-) A.D.M. unconcerned with administrative matters.	
STAGE OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGE		(-) Cost & limited resources.	(-) English language of science.	(-) Few competent F.C.s in field.	(-) Lack of govt policy.	(-) T.B.	
STAGE OF IMPLEMENTING COURSES OF ACTION		(-) Nature of dept's work.	(-) Budgetary strait jacket.	(-) Technical work & lack of F.C. specialists.	(-) No govt direction.	(-) Importance of English.	
STAGE OF DEFINING COURSES OF ACTION		(-) Little demand for French.	(-) Ottawa environment.				
STAGE OF SPECIFYING IDEAS							
STAGE OF GENERAL IDEAS AND OBJECTIVES	B&B. an emotional, not rational problem. Uneconomic and anachronistic. English is the "lingua franca" → of technical world.	Problem areas. 1) opportunity costs. 2) particular problem of technical dept. 3) translation.	Technical bilingual editors and translators. Have all technical depts. get together on translation problems.	Increased staff, costs required to publish in French. Information officer should be bilingual. → Cannot lower standards just to acquire F.C.'s.	Policy group proposed. Perhaps an executive ass't for B&B. Include an estimate in the budget for bilingualism.	After almost 2 months A.D.M. admitted that "nothing had been done" about B&B. Editorial officer idea explored again. Will review B&B. with Minister.	
FIRST CONTACT						↗	
CONTACT PERIOD	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN



TABLE VI

Initially this department was quite receptive to change as it realized many of the department's deficiencies and difficulties in regard to bilingualism and biculturalism. Upon elaborating on its ideas, the officers began to recognize some of the operational and practical difficulties of implementing their sometimes far-reaching ideas and consequently began to concentrate on only a few aspects of the problem, which were better and more suitable language training programs and some sort of officer to look after matters of bilingualism and biculturalism in the department. Its perspective had narrowed somewhat and the one change that did reach the stage of implementation, namely the concept of a Bilingual Projects Officer, is insignificant by itself.

#### Glossary of Abbreviations

B.P.O.	-	Bilingual Projects Officer
C.S.C.	-	Civil Service Commission
D.M.	-	Deputy Minister
E.C.	-	English Canadian
F.C.	-	French Canadian
L.T.	-	Language training
P.M.	-	Prime Minister
U.N.	-	United Nations
T.B.	-	Treasury Board



TABLE VI

DEPARTMENT 10

TIME PERIOD 10 MONTHS

16 CONTACTS

PRESSURES	(+) Native bilingual assets beneficial in world context (-) T.B. & C.S.C. (-) Absence of sufficient F.C. senior officers.	(-) Negativism of F.C. against federal govt. (-) Ottawa environment. (-) Lack of govt'd direction.	(-) Negativism of F.C. officers in the dept. (-) E.C. backlash.	(+) Positive attitude of senior officers. (-) No govt'd direction. (-) I.D.C. giving little direction.	(-) Necessity of alleviating fears of lower ranks. (-) C.S.C.	(+) C.S.C. chairman's speech. (-) FC negativism.	(+) PM speech
STAGE OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGE							
STAGE OF IMPLEMENTING COURSES OF ACTION							
STAGE OF DEFINING COURSES OF ACTION							
STAGE OF SPECIFYING IDEAS							
STAGE OF GENERAL IDEAS AND OBJECTIVES							
CONTACT PERIOD	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN



TABLE VII

In this department, the original attitudes were quite unreceptive to change, for bilingualism in whatever form was regarded as anachronistic and inefficient. However, the department did feel that something could be done about making the present language programme more suited to the departmental needs. The idea of receptive language training was introduced by a linguist from the Commission, and this stimulus (provided by Action Research) persisted through several meetings. However, when the original stimulus was withdrawn and the responsibility for follow-through was placed on the department's shoulders, the momentum began to subside. To maintain the impetus, Action Research arranged a meeting between the department and the C.S.C. but the effort was to no avail.

#### Glossary of Abbreviations

A.D.M.	-	Assistant Deputy Minister
C.S.C.	-	Civil Service Commission
D.M.	-	Deputy Minister
F.C.	-	French Canadian
L.T.	-	Language training
R.L.T.	-	Receptive language training
T.B.	-	Treasury Board



TABLE VII

DEPARTMENT 11

TIME PERIOD  
6 MONTHS

7 CONTACTS

FIRST CONTACT	CONTACT PERIOD	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN
		+)	+)	+)	+)	+)	+)	+)
		PRESSURES perceived in each contact period supporting (+) or inhibiting (-) development of bilingual and bicultural capacity.	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
		STAGE OF <u>SIGNIFICANT CHANGE</u>	Deals with public decentralized department. F.C. Deputy Minister. Internal language usage difficult, because of efficiency. Time lost in L.T. may disrupt dept.	Deals with the public. D.M. in favour. Fewer translation costs with greater comprehension. Control agencies. Technical nature of the work.	Need for oral compre- hension. D.M. in favour. Fewer translation costs with greater comprehension. Control agencies. Technical nature of the work.	Action Research carrying the ball. G.S.C. & T.B.	Treasury Board. G.S.C.	C.S.C. T.B.
		STAGE OF <u>IMPLEMENTING COURSES OF ACTION</u>						
		STAGE OF <u>DEFINING COURSES OF ACTION</u>						
		STAGE OF <u>SPECIFYING IDEAS</u>						
		STAGE OF <u>GENERAL IDEAS AND OBJECTIVES</u>						



## TABLE VIII

At the outset this department displayed a negative attitude towards bettering the bilingual and bicultural conditions in the department. Yet, some officers did recognize the need for French Canadians at the policy level at least, because the nature of the department's functions made "a feel for French Canada" requisite. Several suggestions, such as orientation and staff development programs, were advanced and, since the department had already planned a staff training program, some aspects of bilingualism and biculturalism could be incorporated into the plan. The staff-training officer they intended to hire could double as a B & B officer. This slight adaptation to the program could lead to something more substantial vis-à-vis bilingualism and biculturalism but the primary purpose of it is to acquaint recruits with the conditions and operations of the department, which to date is almost totally English.

## Glossary of Abbreviations

B.P.O.	-	Bilingual Projects Officer
E.C.	-	English Canadian
F.C.	-	French Canadian
L.T.	-	Language training



TABLE VII

DEPARTMENT 13

**TIME PERIOD**

4 MONTHS

#### 4. CONTACT

PRESURES perceived in each contact period supporting (+) or inhibiting (-) development of bilingual and bicultural capacity	(+) Dealings and negotiations with Quebec. (-) Tremendous workload. (-) Quebec educational system does not provide the type of recruit.	(+) Universities beginning to produce competent people. (-) Overall dearth of qualified F.C.s. (-) Low salary scales.	(-) Ottawa environment. (-) Centralized translation. (-) Overall dearth of qualified F.C.s. (-) Low salary scales.	(-) I.D.C. by centralizing problem left little to initiative of the department. (-) Ottawa environment. (-) Heavy workload.			
STAGE OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGE							
STAGE OF IMPLEMENTING COURSES OF ACTION							
STAGE OF DEFINING COURSES OF ACTION	<p>A limited orientation program being drafted with a little emphasis on J. &amp; B. Intend to hire a Staff-training officer which could double as a B.P.O. Full-time U. &amp; B. committee formed.</p>  						
STAGE OF SPECIFYING IDEAS	Perhaps salary adjustments could aid in senior level recruiting. Need for French Canadians at policy-making level. → A feel for French Canada necessary.	Development program up through the ranks to fulfil need of F.C.'s at senior level & orientate E.C.'s. Perhaps Crown Corp. for L.T. Use private translation agencies.	Exchanges of federal and provincial officers. Informal discussion groups for orientation purposes. B.P.O. concept suggested.	→			
STAGE OF GENERAL IDEAS AND OBJECTIVES	Language of finance and economics is English. No pressing language problems except translation. Trained professional "too old to worry about French problems".	There is a need for F.C.s to deal with F.C.s. Environment in dept. is English. "Have enough F.C.s for the time being". Translation inadequate.	→	Although a committee was formed, the courses of action so far suggested are basically for operational purposes and only secondarily for B. & B.			
CONTACT PERIOD	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN



## TABLE IX

In the beginning, the officials in this department described what they considered to be their major problems: 1) recruitment of French Canadians and 2) integration of French Canadians into a predominantly English environment. Improved language training and some departmental control over recruitment were offered as possible solutions. The control agencies were looked upon as obstacles to changes of this sort and the officials therefore began to digress to other topics such as a Bilingual Projects Officer, which had originally been suggested by an Action Researcher. It was felt, however, that the government would have to adopt a strong posture before such a step could be taken by the department. The level of discussion at the time of Action Research's withdrawal was still at the idea stage.

## Glossary of Abbreviations

B.P.O.	-	Bilingual Projects Officer
D.M.	-	Deputy Minister
F.C.	-	French Canadian
L.T.	-	Language training
P.M.	-	Prime Minister



TABLE IX

**DEPARTMENT 15**

TIME PERIOD 10 MONTHS

## 7 CONTACTS

PRESSURES	(-) Lack of govt direction.	(+) Should serve both communities.	(-) Govt must make policy.	(+) P.M.'s statement provides some impetus.			
STAGE OF SIGNIFICANT CHANGE		(-) Treasury Board.	(-) Treasury Board.	(-) National approach to problems. No region gets particular emphasis.			
STAGE OF IMPLEMENTING COURSES OF ACTION		(-) L.T. programs have disrupting effect.	(-) F.C.'s dislike of the dept's atmosphere.				
STAGE OF DEFINING COURSES OF ACTION							
STAGE OF SPECIFYING IDEAS	Dept. should handle more of its own recruiting. Normal procedure inadequate. Increase dept's ability to do business in both languages. Idea of a permanent position to look after B.A.S. matters advanced by Action Research	Idea of "corps intermédiaires" to aid in recruiting brought up. Cannot appoint S.P.O. until govt takes a stand.	Discuss means of improving its service to Quebec which gets similar treatment to other areas in Canada "Quebec does operate differently".	→ → →			
STAGE OF GENERAL IDEAS AND OBJECTIVES	Dept. having great difficulty with 1) recruitment 2) integrating F.C.s into English environment. D.M. in favour of setting up semi-scientific planning process.	L.T. should be concentrated on youth. Previous attempts at departmental L.T. program frustrated by T.B. Must get French-speaking people only if needed.		As the D.M. said in a letter to the commission, "we have some distance to run".			
CONTACT PERIOD	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN



The evidence is striking: even in departments where there were initial signs of high motivation, no sustained drive was evident. Many things were started, but following a period of some considerable activity, the tendency was to drift back towards the status quo.

Assuming that the nine departments tested here were representative of the Public Service in Ottawa as a whole, the conclusion seems inescapable that the **Public Service** is not moving towards more thorough bilingualism and biculturalism.

Secondly, following the reasoning set forth earlier, the evidence demonstrates clearly that the total environmental pressure, taking into account both the posture of the government and other societal pressures, does not encourage the Public Service to undertake the difficult steps necessary to become bilingual and bicultural.

To confirm this latter point, we asked the public servants we talked with how they saw the situation; in the upper section of each table will be found a summary of the pressures - supporting and inhibiting - which public servants themselves alluded to. These factors which they identified represent prima facie evidence of the pressures which reach them, of which they are conscious, from outside the Ottawa milieu or from within, including what they feel to have been government pressure.



An inspection of this data shows certain striking facts:

- 1) While there are references to the Prime Minister's policy statement, on the whole there is very little evidence of consciousness of strong government direction, and in fact there are complaints of lack of government leadership;
- 2) the central control agencies, the Civil Service Commission and the Treasury Board, are identified as sources of obstruction rather than points of support, and while one may suspect some "scapegoating", still the absence of positive stimuli from these agencies is significant;
- 3) the occasional references to such civil service norms as efficiency and professionalism are identified as conflicting with bilingual and bicultural priorities;
- 4) complaints about the budgetary strait jacket which departments are already in, are adduced as reasons for hesitating to proceed with reforms.

Another point is particularly significant.



One might think the greatest pressure to reform would come from Quebec, but in fact the pressure coming in from the French-speaking clientele is of two sorts: on the one hand there is evidence in some departments of demand for services in French (there is however at least as much evidence from other departments of lack of demand); on the other, there is a strong indication that public servants are aware of French Canadian antipathy toward the federal service. On the whole this latter factor seems to have made more impact on the Public Service than the former; far from being subjected to daily pressure from French Canada to change their ways, they seem to sense instead a wall of indifference to whatever they do, including reform.

The overall impression therefore is that, rather than being supported by pressure from Quebec to plan reforms, in fact Quebec pressures are inhibiting in character in the sense that effort above the ordinary is required even to persuade French Canadians to consider coming to work for the Public Service. Total environmental pressure from Quebec, even taking into account demands for services in the French language, is basically discouraging to reform-minded public servants.



The greatest single positive pressure towards change is apparently, according to what we were told, a moral one represented by the feeling that the Public Service has a duty to do something to help national unity. These feelings, where they were present (not in every department), appear to reflect certain currents of thought in English Canada rather than French Canada. We would not want in any way to minimize the importance of moral pressure, but it appeared mainly to result in a willingness to sit down to talk over the situation, and to begin to think of ways to resolve certain problems. In the absence of other positive reinforcers, such feelings were ineffective in carrying through major changes.

We have thus reached the clear conclusion that

- 1) under present circumstances there are no major changes occurring; and
- 2) total environmental influences, from English and French Canada, do not encourage reform.

Circumstances, however, do not necessarily remain the same; French Canadians could decide one day to come pouring into the service, demanding positions; the desire for national unity on the part of enlightened English Canadians in the Public Service could motivate unilateral action to reform; or the government could decide to step up the priority of bilingualism and biculturalism.



Of these variables, it would seem the one of greatest interest to the Commission is the possibility of a larger government role. What would happen if the government exerted considerably greater pressure on the Public Service to become bilingual and bicultural? Would the service resist such efforts, and could it do so successfully? If it did attempt to resist, how would it go about it?

These are highly speculative questions, and the only final way to answer them is for the government to in fact step up its priority and then observe what happens.

We do however know a number of things which may help us to at least make an educated guess to the answers to some of them. One of those things is how the Public Service responded to Action Research. Action Research was a deliberate attempt to step up the pressure to change in the Public Service. It did not of course have government backing. Nevertheless the evidence shows that it did successfully stimulate a measure of activity in the departments. Government pressure, to be effective, must achieve the same end in the absence of natural environmental pressure, that is to say, it must also set up a process whereby it stimulates adaptation. The Action Research results may therefore be a useful guide to what would happen if the government attempted a more active role.



The means we have to evaluate how the Public Service handles pressure of this kind is to look closely at the departmental planning process. If the Public Service wanted to avoid accommodation to a certain government program to introduce bilingualism and biculturalism, it has two alternatives:

- 1) outright defiance, which would be unlikely since it would invite drastic government measures; and
- 2) ineffective planning. When a government program is launched the administrative arm which is responsible for its actual effectiveness is the Public Service. But in this case the Public Service is not only the subject which administers the government program, it is also the object of that program. Under such circumstances, planning and execution of policy either ensures the success or the failure of the government's program. So if the Public Service should want to thwart a government's efforts to bilingualize it, it has only to do one thing, which is to plan and administer ineffectively. It is of course possible that even with best of will present planning processes are ineffective in coping with a problem of the character of bilingualism and biculturalism, where the basic premises are in themselves in so many ways incalculable.<sup>67</sup>

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67. See Appendices II and III for elaboration of calculable and incalculable classes of problem.



### Obstacles to Change

Before turning to an analysis of planning processes we observed as a result of the stimulus of Action Research, we might however make some observations of a more general character which are intended simply to open up certain questions in a preliminary way.

For example we have been talking about government action; yet the government is itself not a completely free agent. For one thing, there is the kind of relationship between government and Public Service which in itself makes drastic action by the government improbable. No government willingly chooses to alienate the Public Service whose goodwill it depends on. The government will therefore move with caution, particularly where the internal operations of the service are affected.

Secondly, the government is itself at the center of a web of environmental pressures, even more than the Public Service. The opting out of federal programmes (and institutions) by Quebec seems to parallel the reluctance of individual French Canadians to work for the Public Service. The pressure on government to institutionalize bilingualism and biculturalism is therefore undoubtedly of the same kind which the Public Service feels, that is to say, a general moral commitment not sufficiently reinforced by direct daily pressures.



Also, the government must balance, even more than the Public Service, conflicting interests and pressures. For every pressure to give special recognition to French, there are countervailing pressures from, for example, the West, to restrict "special" favours to French Canada.

Furthermore, all governments, and consequently all cabinets are always more or less in a state of crisis - threats to peace, to the economy, scandal or danger or fall of governments - a hundred things which are of enormous interest at the moment. In the face of all these exciting things, a campaign to introduce bilingualism and biculturalism, which is inevitably a long-range enterprise, must take on a somewhat theoretical character.

Thus, there are constraints on the government's freedom of action, even though it already appears to have taken a stand on bilingualism and biculturalism.

The converse of the weakness of the government's position is the great institutional strength of the Public Service itself. This has been alluded to in Chapter II, but is worth thinking about again briefly.



There is no doubt that the Public Service is a coherent smoothly functioning social system, with everything which that implies in values, traditions and cultural strength. At the individual level, the existence of such a powerful social structure means patterned behaviour and expectations which provide stability and emotional security. At the institutional level it means the presence of well-established mechanisms (and agencies embodying them) of resolving conflicting interests within

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the structure.

Such a social system can be highly resistant to change; within it there is a prevailing philosophy of government and behaviour which has deep historic-cultural roots.

Apparently, to public servants nurtured in that tradition the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism seems to be at once ill-defined and threatening.

It is threatening because of its potential human consequences. Most civil servants have managed very well up to now without any knowledge of a second language, and

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68. To sit with a group of senior public servants at the Deputy Minister level; is to be aware of power self-consciously exercised, and when we use the word "power" in this context, we are thinking not of abstractions but rather of influence exercised within the framework of human inter-relationships which constitute the social web of government in Canada.



for the government to intimate that further progress up the ladder of promotion may be blocked because of lack of knowledge of another language is likely to strike the individual as unfair, as "changing the rules in the middle of the game". As an indication of the pervasive concern which affected civil servants at all levels of the hierarchy as a result of the great publicity concerning bilingualism and biculturalism three or four years ago, we offer evidence of the very lively response to the introduction of centralized language training. We would hypothesize that attempting to learn French was one way to allay fears of insecurity about new conditions in a bilingual and bicultural service. Unfortunately, if learning French was thought to be one way to reduce feelings of insecurity, the language courses proved to be a disillusionment, since the reports we received indicate that most public servants came away without having remotely mastered the language. The danger of this, of course, is that having tried once and failed, their insecurity is likely to be re-inforced.

Nearly every individual in the service then, has some stake in resisting bilingualism and biculturalism since government policy changes may affect his own personal career adversely.



That the problem is apparently hard to define in terms of civil service norms is something we can only report without fully understanding the reasons, although we feel that the finding may be at least in part explained by the considerations outlined in Chapter II. The fact of the matter is that we found that to advance ideas of "efficiency" and "merit" in defense of bilingualism and biculturalism proves not to be an easy way to justify it. We could argue (and did) that the Public Service cannot be considered properly efficient unless it is able to service the whole country, or that in a country with two official languages, the ability to do business in both ought to be considered an element of merit, but we must report that such arguments do in fact stretch these notions out of their ordinary context, and do not appear to be very convincing. "Getting the job done" seemingly is not to them a notion with linguistic connotations.

Government bilingual and bicultural reforms thus could be threatening to the Public Service because

- 1) they imply changes in the normative structure of the Public Service and
- 2) because adults evidently find it hard to learn a second language. When a coherent, highly structured body such as the Public Service is threatened, it has available to it mechanisms of self-defence which are very powerful and difficult to overcome. Organizations have a life of their own, and often the presence of threats from outside merely serves to unify them.



There is another factor which is perhaps not without significance. To this point we have looked only at internal effects of bilingualism and biculturalism. We should recognize that the Public Service, however, is affected by the society around it, as well. Many public servants inevitably have extensive dealings with opposite numbers either in the great private corporate bureaucracies or public administrations of the United States and the United Kingdom, and they must to some extent find themselves possibly unconsciously, comparing their own standards and performances with those often larger and more powerful institutions, or clusters of organizations. It would be surprising if the total absence of bilingualism and biculturalism in those other organizations with which they are in frequent contact did not make it more difficult to justify to themselves (perhaps at an unconscious level) the absolute necessity of forging ahead with the implementation of the bilingual and bicultural programme. In other words, what is the public servant's image of "normal" practice in an organization?

This is related to another factor which has to do with "normalcy". To some extent the Public Service must take its cues from outside, and its judgement of how urgent the problem is will be affected by feedback from its society.



Karl Mannheim, the great German sociologist, in his Ideology and Utopia<sup>69</sup> describes one common blind spot of the bureaucratic mind. "When faced with the play of hitherto unharnessed forces, as, for example, the eruption of collective energies in a revolution, it can conceive of them only as momentary disturbances. It regards revolution as an untoward event within an otherwise ordered system and not as the living expression of fundamental social forces on which the existence, the preservation, and the development of society depends".

The Toronto Globe and Mail is perhaps closest to being the semi-official spokesman for the central corporate world of Canada, public and private. As if to echo Mannheim, on Saturday August 20, 1966 it wrote editorially:

#### The Quebec Fervor Slackens

" 'Revolutions begin with infatuation and end with incredulity'. As the government of Daniel Johnson gropes its way along the path of caution and consolidation, its erstwhile intransigents seem to mirror in both word and deed the people's deepening disinterest in the once enthralling revolutionary mythology. Likewise the mandarins

69. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, New York, Harcourt-Brace and Co., 1936, pp. 118-119.



who but weeks ago declaimed their historic mission to lead the race to grandeur abroad have grown strangely silent. Now the masses, the backward rural masses the intellecturals used to revile, have shown by their votes that they prefer to follow less ambitious, more traditional elites. No longer do the newspapers of French Canada throb with headlines of nationalist ultimatums: they tell of burgeoning, seemingly uncontrollable demands for better wages, for better conditions of work. The crisis of two nations is dissolving, for the average man, into a crisis of two economic classes;<sup>70</sup> the collective struggle to secure freedom for a people is turning into a series of skirmishes to secure justice for each individual. It may mean that a Quebec less obsessed with its cultural affirmation is ready to recognize its fundamental problems as those of all Canada."

Or, as one public servant said to us: "The worst seems to be over, and French Canadians will soon be flowing back into the federal government service."

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70. Italics ours, see Chapter V, p. 259



To review, we have seen that

- 1) the government is somewhat handicapped in launching a strong bilingual and bicultural campaign,
- 2) the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism may be both threatening and difficult to comprehend for public servants,
- 3) external factors may encourage some scepticism about the urgency of bilingualism and biculturalism, and
- 4) the public servant's most effective way to thwart government policy designed to implement reform is by ineffective administration.

#### Planning for Change

We now turn to three approaches to planning. They were perceived with particular clarity in the nine departments whose experiences are graphically presented in the preceding tables. This is by no means a comprehensive set of styles. Only three are selected for illustrative purposes, and are in simplified "image" form. They show what we perceived to be typical Public Service planning postures, which may appear alone or in combinations to make up a departmental planning style. They provide some indication of constraints at the departmental level to significant bilingual and bicultural planning and action.



We describe "functional planning", "priority planning", and the "planning for the future". All three are inhibited by the lack of clear-cut government policy, as well as authoritative central machinery to expedite bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service.

1. "Functional Planning"

Every organization is "...deliberately constructed or re-constructed to seek specific goals".<sup>71</sup> In the Public Service, every department has been organized for specific purposes, to perform certain functions which in principle it attempts to do with a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of resource expenditure. For the public servants at the administrative level these purposes are important, because it is they who must assume the responsibility for the department's success or failure to attain its objectives. Generally then, this responsibility is critical in every planning process regardless of how the department plans or what it is planning for. However, the functional style, in considering changes to improve bilingual and bicultural conditions in a department, gives the department's operations and functions, not necessarily exclusive, but certainly primary consideration. The desirability or feasibility of any

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71. Talcott Parsons, Structures and Process in Modern Societies, Glencoe Ill, The Free Press, 1960, p. 17.



suggested course of action was therefore determined by the nature of the department's operations which in all cases happened to be either highly professional or highly technical.<sup>72</sup>

For example one Deputy Minister was initially quite taken by the Receptive Language Training approach because he believed it would be "operationally useful". The department had gone so far as to prepare a glossary of technical terms which could be used at the operational level to better serve the public. In several meetings the idea of R.L.T. was developed to the point where it was felt that a linguist should be hired to effect the program. However, since the department had not, and was not willing to confront the C.S.C., and because it was unwilling to pay for the linguist out of its own estimates as this might impinge on the C.S.C. role, the whole idea was shelved. At that time the Deputy Minister confessed that "the direct value of making the department bilingual was more limited than (he) originally thought".

Similarly in another department, one official remarked that the inadequacy of the present language training program, which he attributed to the allocation of scarce resources, limited its operational value in spite of the large demand for language training. When asked what could be done this officer

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72. Five of the nine departments studied planned in the manner described.



replied that his heavy work-load allowed him no time "to sit back and think about (such) long range administrative problems". He did not want to get into administrative problems of feasibility, but just raise ideas to forward to the Deputy Minister.

There are other examples which indicate a reluctance on the part of many public servants to sacrifice "efficient operations" to better bilingual and bicultural conditions in their respective departments. This style of planning was described by two Deputy Ministers as being of an ad hoc variety where a problem had to "exist" before it was tackled. Since unilingualism served their purposes very well, and since they tended to plan in terms of their experience and in the context of "existing" departmental conditions as they perceived them, they never firmly grasped the problem and therefore could not be expected to even begin to solve it.

Accompanying this primary consideration of the department's specific functions and operations as ends in themselves was a tendency toward an authoritarian executive style. In all five departments the Deputy Minister seemed to exercise close control over departmental planning, at least as far as our meetings were concerned, leaving little to the initiative of the other senior officials. The degree of authoritarian style is hard to assess without a more intensive evaluation than we were able to make, however,



and some of its manifestations as we observed them might have hidden elements of a more permissive nature.

In one department, all the meetings were chaired by the Deputy Minister, who would direct the meetings according to a preconceived format, which he followed to the letter. Once all the ideas on a subject had been exhausted by group discussion, the Deputy Minister would divert the discussion to the next subject on his agenda. After all the items on the agenda had been dealt with, he adjourned the meetings, announcing that he would draft a set of guidelines consolidating the deliberations. His outline, he wrote in a letter to the Commission, would take into account:

- 1) the existing situation in the department
- 2) the proposals that had commended concensus in the discussions and
- 3) areas where differences of opinion remain to be resolved.

He then planned to relate these guidelines to the position the government had taken. This not only indicates that the department plans in terms of its existing operations but also illustrates how it relies on the policy decisions coming from the higher authority of the government. This same Deputy Minister had at one point summarily dismissed a current speech of the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission on bilingual and bicultural matters, saying that the department could only march on the Prime Minister's orders.



In two other departments, the meetings were attended by the Deputy Minister's Management Committee, a small group of senior officers who do the planning for the whole department under the Deputy Minister's guidance. One group, consisting of the Assistant Deputy Ministers and the Personnel Officer decided after several months of deliberation that they should form a permanent committee to discuss the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism. However, before doing that, these very senior officers felt it necessary to send a "request" to the Deputy Minister before taking such a step. It is also interesting to note that this same group felt that the establishment of a B.P.O.-type position would have to have Cabinet approval before being established.

Whatever position an officer in any one of these departments holds in the administrative hierarchy, there is a tendency to "look up" to some higher authority for direction and decision. All of the departments lamented the absence of government policy and we often noted an unwillingness on the part of officials "to go too far until the government gave more indication of its intentions". One Deputy Minister opined that if some properly authorized government agency such as the Privy Council or the Treasury Board were to carry on the work of Action Research, a lot more could be gained. In another department, an Executive Assistant suggested that the lack of direction from the policy levels was the reason why some public servants did not regard the C.S.C. chairman's speech as being particularly authoritative.



Aside from the idea that all authority comes from the top, there is a very noticeable willingness in these departments to work and plan within "the system". Some officials offered as an explanation for their adherence to the system, their past experiences with the control agencies, which on occasion had thwarted their efforts with language training and recruiting. Consequently, they were reluctant to experiment or plan in any area where they might be usurping the functions of the control agencies.

In summary, we can conclude that the departments that plan primarily on the basis of their own functions in isolation, are likely to rely on the government to direct their efforts towards greater bilingualism and biculturalism. Also, they are content to work within the system, but it is possible to assume that they would subscribe to strong dictates requiring adaptation and change, as long as they carried some authoritative weight. Bilingualism and biculturalism are to them long range administrative problems which they would rather leave to some other body so that they may concentrate on their own job.



2.        "Priority Planning"

In planning one is working towards operational objectives. Priority planning, then, must concern itself with the operational objectives of the organization just as functional planning does. However, unlike the functional planning, priority planning tried to take into account certain overall values and tried to structure them on the basis of certain sets of accepted criteria such as efficiency and desirability. For example one official put it this way: we must not let "imaginary difficulties of administering practical solutions obscure the overall question" .. "Present unilingualism (may) serve the department very well as far as its operations are concerned, (but we must stack) this efficiency against the cohesiveness of the country."

In three departments "priority planning" seemed to reign supreme. In spite of the absence of government direction, all three departments felt that some progress was necessary although it might be beyond the statutory functions of the departments. Central to their thoughts was the idea that bilingualism and efficiency are incompatible and thus more emphasis should be placed on developing an overall plan of attack rather than talking about issues.



Having accepted this premise, the departmental discussion group embarked on an examination of the department's operations, each participant contributing his ideas, criticisms and comments, for the purpose of developing an overall plan of attack. The problem, they generally conceded, is "the proper allocation of dollars, time and resources", which subsequently led them to consider these questions:

- 1) Do the resources exist?
- 2) Could they be better used for another job?
- 3) Can a country the size of Canada afford to use them for such and such?

Since resources are limited and since the objectives of bilingualism and biculturalism are only some of the many needs of the department, priorities must be established. This is the logic of the priority planning.

Now, if the broad basic objectives of bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service are accepted as being government policy, then the department can, through development and experimentation, set up the means for diverting resources towards bilingual and bicultural ends. At this point, priority planning reaches an impasse for it appears that bilingualism and biculturalism do not command high government priority, and since department officials are unwilling by themselves and perhaps unauthorized to establish these priorities, the planning comes to a standstill. The essential question, as one officer put it to us, "is still whether the government is prepared to pay the extra costs involved in bilingualism and biculturalism".



In one of the three departments the Deputy Minister, almost as if to keep the meeting alive, asserted that bilingualism and biculturalism were "important though not urgent" priorities of the government, which in effect left the planners with one possible course of action. They could, after thorough discussion, formulate concrete proposals to be submitted to the control agencies for approval. But, in diverting resources towards bilingual and bicultural ends, the department felt that it had to rationalize the diversion in practical terms of efficiency and applicability to existing operations. After some prodding from Action Research staff, the department confronted the C.S.C. with demands for a language training program better suited to its operational needs. They found it very difficult to influence the C.S.C. policy of centralized language training, whose rationale is to "make it possible to absorb people in groups much more homogeneous in respect of competence in the second language".

In the other two departments, it was felt that there was "too little concensus to make specific demands" on the C.S.C. and Treasury Board. Consequently they were content to dump problems into the central agencies' laps and await further developments in government policy. The reaction of one of these departments to the C.S.C. chairman's speech (J.J.Carson) was encouraging in that it began to think of bilingualism and biculturalism as one of many priorities. Unfortunately, time prevented us from following up the actions of this particular



department. It is interesting to note, however, that this department, as opposed to the five that plan in terms of their functions, regarded the speech as government policy.

Like functional planning, the priority planning style displayed a tendency to "look up" to some higher authority, be it the government or the control agencies. However, rather than looking for specific direction as functional planning did, priority planning looked for some higher authority to, at the very least, establish priorities and lay down guidelines for action which could then be put into operation. The fact that these departments regarded Carson's somewhat general speech as government policy is evidence of this. Moreover, we got the impression that "priority" planning tended to be more democratic than "functional" in that it made greater attempts to bring the opinions and points of view of the lower echelons into the planning process. It did this by bringing officers from lower levels into the Action Research discussion groups. Perhaps because of this and possibly because of the very nature of the role of these departments they tended to exhibit more concern for their clientele in particular and national needs in general, than did the departments governed principally by functional considerations.



Essentially, what priority planning did was to execute a complete circle. The officers started out by disregarding the absence of government policy. They tried to set priorities. But, they found that this involved basic policy-making, a role which they were unprepared to assume. So they found themselves needing to rely on the very policies whose absence did not discourage them in the first instance. If, however, a strong government statement were made, it is conceivable that the priority planning would, to the limit of the resources allocated for bilingualism and biculturalism, put that policy into operation. Somehow these public servants do not consider that the government statements made to date permit them to take action in any significant way.

### 3. "Planning for the Future"

Because of its dual nature, one department afforded us the opportunity of observing two conflicting planning styles in action at the same time. Initially, Action Research was observing the planning style of only one of two branches, but at about the mid-point of our investigation the other wing of the department was brought in for the expressed purpose of establishing policies for the whole department. Because both the nature of its functions and its planning style were different, this second wing had a mediating effect on the planning of the original branch. In the first branch we encountered an approach to planning in which the planners tried to ignore



the constraints of the present system in an attempt to plan for the future. We call it "planning for the future".

The other wing planned in terms of its functions, which consequently had a restraining effect on the somewhat evolutionary approach adopted by original branch. Thus it became difficult to isolate the two and to evaluate the possible outcome of "planning for the future" had it been allowed to follow its natural course. Nevertheless, we can begin by describing how planning for the future attempted to solve the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service and then bring in the contrasting style, observing how the one affected the other.

By ignoring the constraints of the present system, the Deputy Minister of the first wing felt that the planners could intellectually and morally commit themselves to necessary changes. For example, although it was impossible to financially commit itself to changes, the branch could "tool-up" a cost estimate ignoring present-day restraints, on the assumption that these restraints would not operate in the future. In effect, what the planners were doing was to prepare themselves "for the time when it (the branch) achieves whatever level of bilingualism and biculturalism it decides to aim for".



Before doing any actual planning, one officer felt that objectives would have to be set for the country as well as the branch. To this an action researcher replied that general policy objectives can be and have been articulated by the Inter-departmental Committee and by the Prime Minister, but the departments themselves, through their trial and error experience and through their relations with the central agencies, must formulate their own specific objectives. This approach seemed to satisfy those present and they subsequently went about setting up the appropriate working committee to study the problems in the branch in the hope that they could determine some specific departmental objectives. They eventually established two objectives: to provide internally for the attraction of French-Canadian recruits and to educationally equip the senior officers to deal with bilingualism and biculturalism.

The working committee undertook a series of interviews throughout the department, and began to look for possible courses of action to enable them to achieve these objectives. It was here that the planners began to feel the constraints which they had attempted to ignore in the first place. Apparently their interviews generated a somewhat negative reaction in the department, particularly among French-Canadian officers who were reluctant to upset the status quo and perhaps jeopardize their special roles. At any rate, the planning process continued. Committee meetings continued to define



broad departmental objectives, raising far-ranging ideas and generally increasing the level of awareness. But, as one officer said, the emphasis was on ideas rather than action and for the amount of time involved, very little had been achieved. For one thing, the meetings involved too many people and thus were apt to be unwieldy and ineffective. The participants were content to dwell in the realm of ideas which somehow never reached the operational stage.

Then, into this atmosphere of ideas came the other wing of the department which, as one of its officers put it, was used to having problems dumped onto its lap rather than actually defining its own problems. He termed the evolutionary approach of the first wing unusual, realizing that some of the resolutions coming from the meetings involved serious implications for which he felt expert advice was needed. The type of meetings that he envisaged were more limited than the full-scale ones that had been taking place up to then. This same officer complained, as most functional planners would, of the lack of general policy direction from the government. Although he was aware that the problem involved more than simple efficiency towards a bilingual population, he felt somewhat at a loss since he had no concept of what the overall goal should be. It was his opinion that a basic departmental policy had to be hammered out before dealing with specific objectives and he suggested a small working group to make recommendations to the Deputy Minister and to implement his decisions.



This same officer unconsciously gave a very good example of what happens when a planner whose focus is on the department's functions and operations sets out to establish his own goals in the absence of direction from higher authority. To him, the aim of the department should be to strive for an organizational model that he considered ideal. In his model, there was a unilingual English-Canadian head with at least one bilingual French Canadian at every other level. This set-up, he thought, would serve the department's operational needs and would be most practical, most efficient and best for co-ordination.

The contrast between our "functional" and "future" planning styles was striking. Firstly, functional planning seemed to operate on the principle that the employee, be he French or English-speaking should first and foremost serve the purposes of the department while planning for the future operated on the premise that the department must give consideration to the employee. To illustrate this we recall the original departmental objectives that planning for the future had produced and compare them to those stated at a later date, after the functional planners were brought into the process. The original objectives read: to provide internally for the attraction of French-Canadian recruits and to educationally equip the senior officers to deal with bilingualism and biculturalism. After functional planning had imbued these



objectives with its influence, the objectives were stated like this: the primary need of the department in bilingualism is to be able to conduct business in the language of the local inhabitants, and a secondary need is to make the head-office environment more congenial for French Canadians. The department needed more French Canadians to deal with French-Canadian clientèle. The objectives in the second instance have an operational basis and also imply that the department itself cannot to any great degree adapt to the presence of French Canadians. The first set of objectives imply that the department itself would have to make the adaptation, rather than the employees. As one of the original planners said, the statement of their objectives had been "watered down" although he felt that the wording remained strong.

A second obvious contrast appears in the mechanics of the two planning styles. Planning for the future involved a large number of people, whereas functional planning tended to rely on a much smaller group. In fact, the original meetings in the first wing were the largest of any in the whole Action Research program.



Thirdly, functional planning's tendency to look to some higher authority for direction had a limiting effect on thinking and ideas. It can be compared to the other style's essential disregard for present conditions which produces a flood of ideas but is not paralleled in achievement, at least initially. In a manner of speaking, the two planning styles complemented each other, for functional planning, by bringing to the fore many of the operational obstacles that the less realistic style ignored, effectively dragged the latter down to earth. On the other hand, planning for the future did not let the system curtail thinking to the degree that the functional planning did. This combination of realism and idealism may produce the best results of any sparked in the whole process of Action Research.

What results? First of all, it was in this department that the fullest appreciation of the problem was achieved. Functional planning contributed to a fuller understanding of the administrative problems of a bilingual and bicultural Public Service while planning for the future brought to light some of the social problems experienced by French Canadians working in the existing environment. It is reasonable to assume that both branches would have been less effective without mutual support.



Aside from these purely illusory results, a few, though not many, concrete actions were taken. Both Deputy Ministers approved the policy recommendations submitted to them by the working committee. Both branches agreed to the need for a full-time officer to look after matters related to bilingualism and biculturalism and a request for such a position has been forwarded to Treasury Board. The mechanisms and appropriate committees were established on a permanent basis and the decisions of the committees seem to have almost automatic approval from the Deputy Ministers. If the momentum does not subside with the withdrawal of Action Research, then it is possible that something more substantial will be achieved.

To sum up, of the three planning styles described here, priority planning and planning for the future appear to respond more positively to the needs of bilingualism and biculturalism than does functional planning. But a significant element of the functional style is also important, because departments after all must discharge their functions. We suggest, also, that the Public Service planning process adopt elements of the strategy employed in this study, interest based planning (Appendix 3).



In any event, the typical planning styles are shown by the results of Action Research to be largely ineffective for a problem of the depth and complexity of bilingualism and biculturalism, no matter how well they might work in the ordinary course of events.

#### CONCLUSION

The evidence of the Action Research experience shows that the response of government departments to the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism is critically inhibited by the lack of clear-cut government policy and of the authoritative machinery to expedite it. We conclude that under the present circumstances, there are no major changes occurring and also that the total environmental influences from English and French Canada do not encourage reform. Moreover, should the government decide to step up the priority of bilingualism and biculturalism, we conclude that the Public Service would respond to this pressure in a manner similar to that stimulated by the presence of Action Research. Pressure of this kind, even authoritative government pressure, is not enough. It can result in no more than the ephemeral courses of action (surface solutions) described in Appendix I. More fundamental steps must be taken as well. Such steps are discussed in the next chapter.



CHAPTER VTHE DYNAMICS OF ADAPTATION

The present situation is marked by surface solutions, low priorities, and a posture of apparent concern without significant follow-through. The Inter-departmental Committee on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was largely a three-year stalemate. Government efforts to date have not been effective. The government's policy, issued in April 1966, characterized by the Montreal Gazette as a "carefully worded statement", by Le Devoir as "prudent gradualism", has yet to prove its value. On the whole, public servants appear to feel that bilingualism and biculturalism does not rank high in the list of government priorities.

Neither English Canada nor French Canada is solidly behind the idea, though for different reasons. If no one is pressing for a bilingual, bicultural Public Service with vigour, and if the government limits itself to official support of the idea, then perhaps it is the concept itself which needs to be re-examined. It may be that the ideas of bilingualism and biculturalism cannot be realized, or if they could be, would still not reduce the tensions the country is now experiencing. If so, the present caution is healthy.



### A Larger Perspective

To deal with this order of question we must address ourselves to the larger perspective, and examine the question not in relation to the day-to-day operations of the Public Service, but in relation to its overall function in the adjustment of English-French tensions in the country.

We propose to offer a simple form of systems evaluation which may clarify our thinking.

A system, as we will use the term, is "a boundary-maintaining set of inter-dependent particles or sub-units - and also an actor in a larger... multi-level hierarchy of systems. By inter-dependence is meant that whatever happens to one component of a system affects, no matter how slightly, the balance and relationships of the whole system. By boundary (is meant) that the components are so related that it is possible to ascertain where the system ends and the environment begins.<sup>73</sup>

Let us now apply this evaluative tool to the Canadian scene and consider Canada as if it were composed of two social systems, English Canada and French Canada. At the same time let us also look at the Public Service as a system, both

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73. North, Holsti, Zaninovich, and Dinges, Content Analysis, A Handbook with Applications for the Study of International Crisis, Northwestern University Press, 1963, p. 5.



in relation to the information it receives from the two major social systems of the country and in relation to its role as "an actor in the larger system".

If we consider in global terms the social system of French Canada, and its relationship with that of English Canada, we find that it is outweighed nearly 3 to 1, or more, if one considers how many more French Canadians are semi-assimilated into English-Canadian society than the converse. It is under-represented in the higher echelons of the great power institutions of the country, except in the political and non-economic spheres of the Province of Quebec. There is no indication that the numbers of French Canadians in the country will become more predominant; population forecasts suggest they are likely to be a declining proportion of the total. Furthermore improved means of communication, as one effects, have permitted rapid inroads of American-English Canadian culture patterns into French-Canadian society, although, it is true, permitting extensions of French-Canadian culture into new fields of activity. English Canada's systemic relationships with the United States seem to be on the increase, which tends to intensify the already great cultural and economic pressure on French Canada. Viewed in this perspective, the odds become not 3 to 1 but more like 40 to 1, and English-speaking North Americans feel themselves further supported by the consciousness of the pre-eminent world position of the English language.



It is not an exaggeration to say that there is a threat to the very continued existence of French Canada.

We might digress for a moment to underline one distinction. The terms of reference of the Royal Commission lay their emphasis on language and culture, which has seemingly caused great confusion for many people and groups in Canada (though not for the Commission itself). Language and culture (language being a part of culture, though a critical one) are simply products, or distinguishing marks of a social system, and their continued vitality is contingent on the vitality of the system. Human history offers a multitude of illustrations as to what happens to language and culture when the underlying social system collapses. For many primitive cultures, whose organization was fragile in the first place, the process of disintegration occurred in a single generation under the impact of Western invasions. More complex, durable systems may persist in the face of adversity over very long periods; the French-Canadian system has demonstrated its hardy character over centuries.

This may help to explain some of the confusion about the central issue of the present crisis in Canada; it is not that the French language and culture as such enjoy pride of place over other languages and cultures in Canada: it is that they are



manifestations of one of the two primary social systems<sup>74</sup> of the country. There are many languages and cultures in the country, and none of them is second-class; there are only two viable primary social systems. Words such as "nation", "race", "culture" even "language", all tend to confuse this central point and naturally enough give rise to resentment. Within this perspective, language becomes one of the "components" which help French-Canadian society to "ascertain where the system ends and the environment begins".

But are there in fact two systems in Canada rather than one? It is not our intention to say that the idea of two systems is "right" or "wrong"; we simply adopt this type of analysis because the narrower premise which underlay our earlier investigations led, as we saw in Chapter IV, to an impasse. In any case, this is a question which the Commission has already dealt with in its Preliminary Report.<sup>75</sup>

Consider a further hypothesis stated by North and Schramm:

"When two states interact over a sufficiently prolonged period of time, perhaps centuries, they tend to behave like a single system with respect to their transactions."<sup>76</sup>

74. The term "primary social system" includes constitutional recognition and power in the authoritative political mechanisms of the country - in short an essentially full range of social institutions.

75. See footnote on next page.

76. North et al, Content Analysis, p. 150.



75. We find it hard at this point to resist the temptation to quote extensively from the Preliminary Report. For example: Preliminary Report, Chapter VI, p. 104. " 'Overwhelming majority', 'society', 'nation'; what do they mean? They are used to describe the types of organization and the institutions that a rather large population inspired by a common culture, has created for itself or has received and which it freely manages over quite a vast territory where it lives as a homogeneous group according to common standards and rules of conduct. This population has aspirations which are its alone, and its institutions enable it to fulfill them to a greater or lesser degree..."

Chapter VI, p. 104. "In short, the French-speaking Canadians of Quebec who appeared before us belong - and they showed that they knew it - to a society which expresses itself freely in its own language, and which in various important fields is already master of its own activities, to which it gives the tone and pace it chooses."

Chapter VI, is in fact a "systems analysis" of Canada. Note also the analytical distinction between "class" and "system" which the Preliminary Report mentions but does not elaborate upon. Descriptively, the two terms are co-extensive: that is, one may think of French Canadians as a "class" within Canadian society (analogous to the Negroes in the U.S.), or as a partly integrated social system. The critical difference is that a "class" is composed of individuals with one or more particular features in common which give them a single interest within the larger society, e.g. colour, language, economic status. Their power to influence their environment can only be exercised within that system. Members of a large social system which is semi-integrated into another, larger social system, have a second option, which is to withdraw, to opt out. The particular framework of analysis one chooses may seem unimportant but in fact it has significant consequences. For an excellent well-considered presentation of the type of conclusion which an analysis in terms of the "class" concept leads to, see Oswald Hall's letter to Léon Dion, May 31, 1966, Document of the Commission Preparatory Document for Outline, Volume I.

Chapter VI, p. 108. "It was as though the entire community were regarded as one single social class which was pictured, according to the speaker, either as a militant middle class or an exploited proletariat. Sometimes this identification was even made explicitly: for example, when it was stated that, taken as a whole, the French Canadian community finds itself in the position of a proletariat in relation to the English-speaking minority".



Thus whether we consider Canada as one system, made up of two major sub-systems, or whether we think of it as two systems, which because of continued proximity and interaction, now tend to behave like a single system, is not the central question. What is more important is another proposition which is implicit in this formulation: both systems will tend to be motivated, not necessarily at the same time, by two contradictory drives,

- 1) to interact with the other and come to a closer integration of the two systems, and
- 2) to pull back from the other system and re-define the boundaries, wherever they have become blurred.

While such tendencies appear to be opposite in character, still both of them are demonstrably operative at one time or another in every normal human situation. On the one hand human beings are 'social' beings who interact freely; on the other they feel the need to be 'individuals', to have their own identity. This is true at the personal level, at the level of small groups, for large organizations, and for states.<sup>77</sup>

The present crisis in Canada arises from French Canada's attempt to re-define boundaries. The historical drift for some considerable time had been towards greater integration of the two systems. The traditional social system which had supported

77. See Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, Glencoe Ill., The Free Press, 1956.



French Canada for so long was finding it increasingly hard to maintain its vigour under the pressure of new conditions. It seemed the rate of assimilation of French Canadians to the English system was on the upswing. The language of popular use was becoming more and more corrupt because of the infiltration of numerous English words. These indicators pointed to the relative weakening of the French social system.

Then, although no one could say why or how it happened, or whether it would last it became evident that there was a new will to survive in French Canada, which found expression in many phases of French-Canadian life.

The Quiet Revolution has been an effort to re-build the system, to extend and restore the social bases, the foundations, in order to protect the superstructure, in other words, as we define it, to consolidate.<sup>78</sup>

Consolidation for French Canada, in the present circumstances means to concentrate on the Province of Quebec (which may in the end strengthen French-Canadian communities elsewhere by the development of a stronger central base); it means French-Canadian leadership must be oriented to work at home, rather than here and there across Canada; in short, consolidation

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78. See Chapter II, p. 48 . Re-building a system, in modern terms, building a complex of bureaucratically organized institutions.



means a discouragement of indiscriminate inter-mingling of individuals from the two systems, at least for the present because such inter-mingling is a form of assimilation which lessens the power and ability of French Canada to survive and develop; it is a slow bleeding of French Canada's élite.

How does the idea of consolidation accord with the notion of biculturalism? If the percentages of population in Canada were reversed, if the ratio of size and societal balance were the opposite of what they are, it might be more encouraging to envisage wide intermingling in bicultural situations. If French Canada were the dominant social system in Canada, though in an inferior situation vis-à-vis North America as a whole, French Canadians and English Canadians might be able to work together fruitfully in a bicultural context, without either losing their sense of cultural identity. This is open to speculation. Under present conditions, with the population cards stacked against French Canada, with the overwhelming domination by English-speaking North Americans of the economic fields, and with the strongly entrenched historical habits of domination by one system, acceptance by the other, in so many institutional fields, the fact of the matter is that for a French Canadian now, biculturalism tends to be synonymous with assimilation.



The Public Service in this New Perspective

How does the Public Service fit into this picture?

In the first place, there is, as we have seen, no effective representation of the French system in the actual Public Service centered in Ottawa. French Canadians who are employed there work in English, and many of them are to a greater or less degree already assimilated to the English Canadian system. Perhaps in principle the Public Service should be a reflection of all Canada, but the blunt truth is that, as matters stand, the Public Service of Canada is a rather effective agent for assimilating French Canadians to the English-Canadian system.

The analytical framework which we have adopted conceives of hierarchies of systems, leading from the single individual human system, through various forms of groupings, to the state, which is itself a component of an international system. Within any given state which enjoys a high degree of organization, with highly specialized functional structures, there will be a strong tendency to analogy of function up and down the line. Thus sub-systems within the larger system will tend to take on the character of the greater organization and to transmit the same pattern to their sub-systems.



From this perspective the federal Public Service has to be viewed as a sub-system of English Canada. It is a powerful institution which contributes to the vitality of English-Canadian life and English Canadians are on the whole justly proud of it. Part of the general loyalty to the idea of central government across English Canada which the Commission found must be accounted for by the achievements of the federal administration.

Obviously it contributes something to French Canada as well. Stable monetary policy benefits everyone in the country, French or English, for example. A healthy economy is the necessary base for both systems. The problem is that the kind of contribution which the Public Service makes to French Canada is also consistent with the disappearance of its "Frenchness", and the erosion of the unique features which mark off its boundaries from English Canada. In macrocosm as well as microcosm, then, the Public Service acts as an agent of assimilation. It does not presently contribute to the vitality of French-Canadian life as such, except in one or two areas which we will return to later.

Will the creation of a bicultural Public Service change this fact of life?



In the first place, this service, structured and concentrated in Ottawa, is now fundamentally "English" and in the future seventy-five per cent or more of its personnel will under any circumstances remain so. This seventy-five per cent majority is drawn from a country which is already 3 to 1 English, and likely to be more. Furthermore this majority enters the place in the full consciousness that in North America, English is the language of all the most powerful institutions which incorporate the vital development of new knowledge that sustains our technological civilization. For this majority, which inherits a complex of attitudes, motivations, and links with the larger North American reality, a Public Service career is only one of many possible careers in North America in institutions where English Canadians can work and feel "at home". Will this personnel subject itself to the rigorous process of becoming bicultural?

Secondly, consider the proportionate effect of the two systems on the Public Service. That is, not only will the personnel remain overwhelmingly English-speaking in origin, but also three quarters or more of all the business the Public Service does, the contacts, requests, rewards, the total stimuli, are going to continue to come from the English-speaking world. This will apply, it must be remembered, to French Canadians in the service as well, as long as they are participating fully in the life of the service, and if they are conscientious and



ambitious.<sup>79</sup> But if French-speaking public servants spend three-quarters or more of their time dealing with clients from English Canada, they are very much open to acculturating influences.

French Canadians who come to Ottawa will continue to be assimilated, side-tracked, or sufficiently discouraged to go home, as they have done in the past. This is not a situation which can be changed by government decree.

In short French Canada does not have the human resources to spare to provide enough participation in the Public Service to achieve any degree of parity. If she does, she weakens her base and is in danger of undermining it completely. Her most urgent need is to strengthen her own social structures.

Present conditions clearly dictate consolidation of a French Canada based on the Province of Quebec rather than a scattered deployment of the French-Canadian élite in newly-erected "bicultural" settings of varying depth of genuineness, which drain off the most vigorous element in French Canada, leaving the mass of the people to be acculturated in English Canada - or cut off from advance. French-Canadian leadership must be nurtured by and preserved for French Canada if the system

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79. Recall the complaints of agency heads described in Chapter III, who could not, they said, promote French Canadians to top positions because their experience had been limited to Quebec and therefore they lacked the necessary "breadth".



is to remain vigorous - which means consolidation, not bicultural scatter.

Assimilation or separation - are these the alternatives? Is there a third course which may lead to the development of a Public Service which can continue to serve English Canada efficiently, as it must, but at the same time contribute to the strengthening of the foundations of French-Canadian society. This must be a solution which will not create working units that are either agencies of assimilation or permanent tension points. Can one government serve two social systems at the same time, and still contribute to the general advance of the country? The country (and the Commission) is faced with the necessity of finding new and more complex political devices to take us out of our cyclical crisis pattern. And since the single most difficult problem which faces the world of the future is the increasing integration of systems, imaginative, creative solutions to Canada's present problems could have great international value.

The problem then is to create organisms which link the two systems, permitting efficient planning and operations overall, but allowing for a certain free play in the working out of individual systemic differences. Perhaps the problem is not quite as difficult as it appears.



Human beings always appear to find it hard to believe that there can be any effective ways of doing things other than the one they are familiar with; yet anthropologists attest to the wide range of varying kinds of social mechanisms which human beings are capable of devising and which work very well, once they are accepted by the society. One of Canada's great problems seems to be the inhibiting influence on fresh social thinking of the overpowering presence next door of a country which happens to have been evolving towards centralization of institutions, both governmental and economic. The United States has been steadily moving towards centralization; the United States has become richer and richer; the temptation to assume that one is the result of the other is very great. The United States is rich; the United States is centralized: yet no one can say with authority whether and how the two facts are related.

The impact on Canadian psychology is indisputable; for many Canadians anything which leads to decentralization is retrograde.

Canadian Public Service planners have been known to be infected with the same notion. Beginning thirty years ago or more there was an increasing emphasis on centralization as the Public Service grappled with the problems of extending the services of the central government. Problems of regions received less attention, leading to really serious regional economic lags during the fifties. Then, the provincial leaders of Quebec and other provinces forced the matter of regionalism



back onto the centre of the stage. The federal Public Service demonstrated its flexibility in this area by gradually facing up to the challenge, and by searching out and testing ways to meet it - inter-governmental fiscal planning - resource planning initiatives - things unheard of even five years ago. The new, more flexible planning techniques have not immediately led to some terrible disaster: in fact apparently the more vigorous regional initiatives have resulted in some strengthening of economy.

#### Redeployment

We propose a similar radical departure in the field of bilingualism and biculturalism.

#### We call it re-deployment.

By re-deployment we mean the actual physical re-location outside the city of Ottawa of major Public Service functions; - in other words the principal working divisions of central government departments. This does not mean there would not remain in Ottawa a "head office" where the Deputy Minister would continue to work with and be available to the political arm; it does mean that in varying degrees for different departments, functions below that level would be located elsewhere, either entirely in one city, or divided between two or more cities. The smaller concentration of public servants in Ottawa, and proportionately in the higher echelons, would provide new opportunities for bilingual and bicultural initiatives in the Capital.



An example might help to explain our meaning. It has become almost holy writ that government services have to be centralized in the capital in the interests of efficiency. Yet actually many are not. Public broadcasting, for example, was deployed around the country from the beginning, but principally in the two great metropolitan areas of Canada. As a result there are now thousands of French Canadians, who work in French in a French environment, making a lively contribution to the French-Canadian social system, yet who are federal public servants. In spite of its periodic difficulties the combined networks are a national asset of no little importance. And the ability of French Canadians to serve the whole country through this type of French organization we think of both real and symbolic importance. Even the redoubtable René Lévesque, in proposing a new network for Quebec, did not suggest that Radio-Canada be dismantled.

Of course it will be argued that the reason this type of organization works for the CBC is because of the special nature of broadcasting. We suspect this argument: It sounds like a variant of the argument that if something already exists it must be right and inevitable. We have very strong suspicion that, had the CBC been created a centralized institution from the start, another set of arguments would now be advanced as vigorously, that because of the nature of broadcasting it could not possibly be moved from a central location. The world was once flat.



We saw an example of the power of this type of thinking at work in one of our meetings. This was in an agency which until some ten years ago was located in the city of Ottawa. Its orientation there was very strongly English-speaking, and its organization was firmly centralized. Subsequently it was transferred physically to Montreal. French-Canadian participation increased, although English Canadians remained in key positions throughout the hierarchy. The condition of having French Canadians supervised by English Canadians who could not speak French caused sufficient resentment that, to reduce the tension, the agency was split into two sections, one English-speaking, one French-speaking. Since then, not only has some measure of tranquility been restored, but, there appears to have been released a burst of creative vitality, at least in part stimulated by a certain sense of competition between sections. Yet we were to hear a very vigorous argument indeed to the effect that in this particular field of endeavour the split made no sense at all, was wasteful of resources, inefficient, "downright silly". Perhaps there were other sorts of organization where a split made sense, but certainly not there, it was argued.

We suggest it makes perfectly good sense to re-deploy a great many more of the government's activities than one would imagine at first glimpse. Far from disrupting the operations of government, we further suggest, it could have the effect of bringing much needed new blood and ideas into the government



service. It would stimulate creative new thinking in many departments. Each department would have to be considered on its own merits, however, and some would be more amenable to re-deployment than others.

The effect on French Canada would be electric. From having been a continuing threat to French-Canadian society the Public Service would become a positive asset. We think it not too great a leap to project that French Canadians, from having been the greatest critic of Confederation, could become its strongest defenders. A federal Public Service so constituted would be in a position to contribute mightily to the sustenance of the French-Canadian social system.

Re-deployment should not, we think, be limited to French Canada! Present day means of communication make possible the integration of a network of geographically dispersed structures. The re-deployment of senior decision-making functions across the country would serve to create new national linkages. A new "live" Canadian environment would be provided for the Public Service decision-maker. Inter-agency liaison, so lacking at present, might in fact improve, since inevitably the idea of the importance of communications will be more easily accepted. The location of the executive offices of certain key departments in, let us say, Montreal, could provide the opportunity for a fully integrated bicultural or even predominantly French working environment, if the will were there to design one. The location of other key executive offices in other Canadian centres could provide parallel opportunities in other regions, and need not mean that such offices would ignore the bicultural aspect thereby.



If we exclude the two ideas of assimilation (disappearance of French Canada) and separation (disappearance of Canada), we think the concept of re-deployment is the only viable alternative to Associate States. Once the concept of the two social systems in Canada is accepted, the logical next step is the necessity to seek ways to link the systems.

One kind of link at the systemic level, which is already well publicized is joint planning between Ottawa (as the "representative" of French Canada) with other provinces restricted to speaking for their regional and other special concerns. This is essentially the concept of Associate States. It may be acceptable to French Canada; whether it will be accepted by English Canada is another matter.

But Associate States is not the only answer. Systemic links need not be confined to contacts between Ottawa, (and provinces other than Quebec) and Quebec. A conference between a group of program-makers from Radio-Canada, Montreal, and a similar group from Toronto is a real systemic link between French Canada and English Canada, but it has the peculiar feature that it occurs entirely within the Public Service. Yet the head of the French public affairs department in Montreal thinks himself, and is, a legitimate a spokesman for French Canadian society as, let us say, the Deputy Minister of Education in the province. But he is a federal public servant, paid out of federal funds, owing an important part of his loyalty to the



central government. He is, in fact, potentially, trained to become a senior public servant in Ottawa, possibly President of the entire corporation. He and others like him are a national resource, as well as a French-Canadian one.

Clearly there will be practical problems which occur in carrying out a programme of re-deployment. Obviously, for example, such a step would have to be gradual; we do not see the city of Ottawa being depopulated and the government office buildings torn down. While in the long run, the percentage, and perhaps the total numbers, of public servants (in an expanding service) in the city of Ottawa would be less, drastic sudden changes are not called for. Sudden, violent change would be extremely disruptive; gradual planned re-deployment we suggest, would be stimulating. Much study will have to be given to the practical side. If the overall concept is as valid as we believe, we feel the practical difficulties can be mastered.

The stages need not even appear alarming to the public if undertaken with discretion. Just to illustrate this point, we might imagine the way a government announcement could be phrased: "In the interests of greater efficiency, the government announced today that certain central functions of the Department of Trade and Commerce are being moved closer to the main centres of business in the country. The new offices being opened in Toronto and Montreal will take over the major administrative duties of the department. At the same time,



a special branch is to be opened in the city of Vancouver in response to the greatly increased Oriental traffic which Canada is now engaged in. The office in Montreal is of special importance since it reflects the inter-dependence of the Montreal and Quebec provincial economy with the national economy. Its operations will be largely in the French language although special provisions are being made to ensure an equal level of service to English-speaking clients from across Canada as well. It is felt, that the presence of an office with a national function of this character which will be headed by an Assistant Deputy Minister, will prove a positive stimulus to businessmen from all parts of the country to greater advantage of business opportunities abroad. The government stressed that these moves imply no weakening of the central structure, since close coordination will be maintained with all these centres. In addition, it will provide the federal government with important new links with the business community in different parts of the country and should enable the federal service to provide better, more efficient service to the whole country".

Re-deployment then, is a means of making a genuine contribution to the vitality of French Canadian society. It thus contributes to consolidation. If effected with care, it may be acceptable to the country as a whole since it is not a unique "concession" to the province of Quebec but is consistent



with a larger preoccupation, the need to develop the whole country in a manner which takes better account of regional requirements. Although there may be initial opposition to the idea on the part of the Public Service itself, we think such opposition will disappear as the service realizes that re-deployment has in fact been a means of strengthening its efforts. It thus is in line with the present broad conceptions of the Public Service. Finally it permits the development of flexible lines of planning where bilingualism and biculturalism are concerned.<sup>80</sup>

The central point of our argument is that re-deployment introduces the critical dynamic element into an otherwise static situation, which makes other more limited programs take on a new aspect. While we believe the proposals set forth in Appendices I and IV are some of the best possible means to approach adaptation in the present structure nevertheless it must be recognized that none of them is sufficiently revolutionary to break through the present inertia stagnation. Unless we have seriously misjudged the present situation, the adherence to the status quo in the Public Service in the matter of bilingualism and biculturalism is powerful enough to defeat most efforts at reform, no matter how earnestly entered into.

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80. Whether it will be found better to split departments during re-deployment or apportion them intact to different cities is a point which should be studied further.



What is needed, it seems to us, is a dramatic change so fundamental that it will wrench the structure free from its well-established moorings. Otherwise the Public Service will remain English-speaking and basically unicultural.

Re-deployment offers the kind of fundamental structural change which makes other structural changes and programmes operative.<sup>81</sup> At the same time it will only be effective if supported by other strategies.

### French Language Units

Consider, for example, French unilingual units. If French-speaking units are attached to the present Public Service as it exists in Ottawa, we will have achieved a consolidation of units, but we will not have contributed to the consolidation of the French-Canadian social system. In other words, we have replaced the present assimilation of individuals to the English-Canadian system by anassimilation of units. The individuals working in the units, no matter how advanced their positions become, will remain French Canadians working in a basically English-speaking environment, and as we have noted, there is absolutely no hope of ever altering that fundamental reality. The units will have been detached from a French-Canadian environment and placed in an English-Canadian one; the probability of either 1) acculturation or 2) feelings of desperate discontent among the French Canadians, is great.

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81. In proposing a set of fundamental changes, we do not suggest that there are not other alternatives. What we do suggest is that it is this order of fundamental change which should be considered, and that proposals such as the ones outlined here should be articulated and evaluated in depth.



French Canadians are going to remain a minority in the Public Service, as they will in Canada and North America; may it not make their task of cultural survival somewhat easier if, in their working environment, they are a majority. This means an environment where they are able to interact with each other, in sufficient numbers.

The same French language unit which cannot be maintained in Ottawa may thrive and do good work for the federal government in Montreal. In fact French language units may be required only at the beginning of operations in the French environment; from that point on, French operations would be self-sustaining. In Ottawa, we predict French language units will be a permanent bone of contention.

We might profitably conceive of French language units as task forces until the beachhead is established. Attempts to set them up must be limited to locations or functions which are French-speaking or bilingual.<sup>82</sup>

Thus the idea of re-deployment strikes us as radical - but not dangerous.

#### Advisory Panels

Consider in the light of re-deployment the idea of advisory panels or groups.<sup>83</sup>

82. See Appendix I.

83. See Appendix IV for a complete discussion of this proposal.



This is the concept of special full-time advisors (or mixed advisory groups) at the central agency and departmental level, each composed of talented, senior people from both language groups, drawn from business, universities, and public life, on temporary appointment.

Their primary roles, as we envisage them, will be to assist Deputy Ministers in co-ordination of programs, evaluation, long-range planning and adaptation to the many changing roles and programs of the federal government today. They are also seen as particularly available in resolving increasing problems of inter-departmental and federal-provincial co-ordination. All of these functions are precisely the ones which would become crucial in a period of re-deployment, and the likelihood of acceptance of this promising idea by senior government officials would be maximal.

The other great advantage of this scheme is that it gets a number of French Canadians into decision-making chambers quickly.

The work of the central secretariat or planning group for bilingualism and biculturalism in the Privy Council office would be facilitated. In the first place, a smaller total service in Ottawa itself makes the problem somewhat easier to handle. Secondly, the presence of very senior French Canadians in Ottawa, who had passed their working lives, or a large portion thereof, in a French environment, would immediately



change the complexion of the problem which would assume a less theoretical character than it now has for public servants who deal only with assimilated French-speaking federal public servants, assimilated in the sense of working in English.

In Appendix I we list and discuss a range of courses of action which this central planning secretariat might develop further, add to or simply use as a stimulus to thought. Such courses of action, which emerged from the Action Research experience, are not "solutions", in themselves, but are illustrative of the alternatives open to an experimentally oriented central group. It is perhaps more productive to think of the central group as a "task force" than as a secretariat. Appendix I considers this aspect more fully. Re-deployment opens the door to many such supportive strategies, which might not in themselves offer hope for fundamental change. Thus it is useful to picture the recommendations outlined in this chapter, and in the Appendix I, as a "staged" program: in which changes at one level accelerate the process on other levels.

The conclusions reached in Appendix I suggest that major changes such as re-deployment and the related set of proposals discussed in this chapter are essential to any success of the courses of action described therein.

Similarly other proposals outlined in Appendix I appear in a different perspective.



To support re-deployment we propose two other concepts which merit consideration by the Commission on their own merits, but make particular sense in a deployed Public Service.

#### Central Communications Agency

This body, centrally placed, will control and develop translation, language training, internal and external language use. It will conduct research into the problems of communication in a bilingual society and consult with departments on their particular problems. Thus it will be concerned with technological, cultural, and linguistic aspects of communication. This field is receiving greater attention in many countries. Canada has an opportunity to take world leadership.

#### Public Service Institute

This body will brief, train and re-train senior and middle level executives to new techniques of policy-making, planning and administration, and to changing demands of government. The Institute can be solely a federal effort, but lends itself also to shared control and participation by the provinces.

#### Federal-Provincial Planning Secretariats

Finally, since relations between the federal and provincial governments are going to continue to be of importance in the future, we think inter-governmental planning secretariats may be a useful adjunct to a re-deployed federal Public Service. Such



planning secretariats, modelled in some respects on the Canadian Council of Resource Ministers, presuppose federal initiative in establishing a process of national planning with both federal and provincial Public Service inputs. They would be set up to deal with inter-governmental problem areas, interests and responsibilities, including economic, social, regional, regulatory, physical resource and many other matters. Like the idea of re-deployment, this concept envisages a more flexible, free-wheeling, less rigidly centralized, approach to government in Canada, making new demands on public servants' adaptability and willingness to experiment. We do in fact see a new kind of public servant, perhaps more in tune with the jet age. The proposals for fundamental change described above are cited as examples to illustrate the degree of adaptation needed. They stand on their own merits, but in some respects are interdependent.<sup>84</sup>

In the end, the really critical factor, the ultimate dynamic in adaptation to the new demands imposed on Canada by Quebec's self-conscious renaissance, is not one program or another, or one structural change or another, although these matters - above all else it is a frame of mind, an acceptance

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84. One of these proposals is developed in some detail in Appendix IV (The advisory group). A similar elaboration of other proposals of the same order would be required to give a full picture of the degree of their interdependence.



of the need to adapt, a willingness to try new things, and if they fail, try again. The ancient Canadian virtue of compromise may be re-defined as the willingness to keep an open mind, to look freshly at the real nature of people's needs and wants, and find a way through which allows for the free play of the energies that our country contains. This approach to the development of social policy, which we call Interest-based planning, makes no attempt to reduce all problems to within calculable limits, nor to draw precise charts of the future; it does ask Public Service planners to take the larger view of the country which first tries to find the things which people have in common and build progress from them. It also accepts, however, the idea that every gamble means a risk. We think the time has come to gamble.<sup>85</sup>

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85. Appendix I which follows describes courses of action in a much narrower frame of reference than this. It concludes that, without fundamental changes such as those suggested above, these courses of action are meaningless.



APPENDIX IAN INTRA-AGENCY PROGRAM OF ADAPTATION TOBILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

Planning techniques and programs as adapted to the needs of a special planning group or secretariat in the Privy Council, or other centralized location.

1. General Guidelines

- A. Programs to introduce bilingualism and biculturalism in the Federal Public Service 1) must be able to induce changes, and generate a momentum, in the absence of natural pressure, and 2) must not appear threatening, or result in a consolidation of opposition to bilingualism and biculturalism. This latter consideration means programs should be constructed out of present Public Service interests, not imposed on them.<sup>1</sup>
- B. Bilingualism and biculturalism is not a calculable problem. Initially it will be necessary to accept something less than a clear definition of the precise end of the program. A successful resolution of the problem may be considered to be the

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendices II and III, "Interest-based Planning" and "Interest-based Planning in the Public Service".



creation of conditions which reduce the tension in the country which make possible a French-Canadian presence in the decision-making councils of the federal government, at all levels, including the administrative; and which provide a full range of federal services to French Canadians in their own language. What is not calculable at the beginning is which courses of action are best suited to bring about this general end. The Canadian situation is too unique - North American environment, unique historical development, the arrival of the post-industrial society - to say more than that the country will recognize the solution when it sees it. Definition of objectives will be evolutionary.

- C. Experimentation must be built into the program. This means many ideas must be tested out and evaluated. Those which work will be retained and expanded; those which fail will be discarded. This requires an adaptable, open-ended style and a readiness to take risks. It means living with a high level of insecurity. It means that positive mechanisms must be built into the process to assure that approaches which are found wanting are modified before inertia



or vested interests freeze them in. (Note the language training program of the Civil Service Commission). Cut-and-dried answers are tempting, but deceptive.

## 2. A Four-Point Program of Adaptation

- A. Policy Leadership
- B. Stimulus
- C. Sanctions
- D. Co-ordination

### A. Policy Leadership

The government is the only body which can take the lead in the present situation.

It must not only set out general objectives in unambiguous terms; it must in fact demonstrate leadership. It must show by example as well as by word, that it gives priority to bilingualism and biculturalism. This means that in its daily business it must keep bilingual and bicultural considerations to the fore. Bilingualism and biculturalism should appear with regularity, as a high priority, on Cabinet agendas. Only the government can force the pace.



The Public Service naturally takes its cues from the government, and if the government's concern with bilingualism and biculturalism is sporadic, or half-hearted, it will not be surprising if the Public Service's attitudes reflect the government's. And sporadic, half-hearted efforts will only go a very little way towards reform: the gap between reality and the ideal is great, the obstacles forbidding.

Government leadership, then, is the first critical factor.

B. Stimulus

(For purposes of communication, planning, creativity, experimentation, action).

Fears are sometimes voiced by public servants that decentralized initiatives by departments in the area of bilingualism and biculturalism are in danger of "getting out of hand". Naturally public servants distrust duplication of effort as inefficient. They feel functions should be clearly assigned and carried out by the person to whom they have been assigned, with appropriate supervision.

Such thinking no doubt generally makes very good sense. It functions badly in the field of bilingualism



and biculturalism because it is an antagonistic problem which the Public Service is not up to deal with; and ways of dealing with it must be invented - they are not yet clearly (operationally) apparent. The present danger is not too many initiatives but too few. Highly centralized and structured planning in language training and recruiting under the control of the Civil Service Commission has not been successful. There has been a lack of experimentation, and a failure to adapt programs to departmental needs. The rigid, unimaginative approach adopted by the C.S.C. is the result of definite objectives too early. It also illustrates the danger of over-centralization.

We propose:

- 1) A small active team or task force, whose duty will be to encourage within the departments a series of experimental programs to overcome specific problem areas.
- 2) This body be centrally located, with easy access to senior decision-making levels of government. Such proximity to top decision-makers permits "short-circuiting" of many troublesome communication blocks. It also provides necessary prestige to



deal with senior public servants. Finally it serves as a permanent reminder to the Prime Minister of the importance of the problem. This is important since Prime Ministers' offices are often in a state of crisis about one matter or another, and long-term problems are easy to neglect.

- 3) Members of this team be chosen for three qualities:
  - a) the requisite toughness and drive to sustain a steady pressure on senior officials, even in the face of discouraging responses,
  - b) a certain quality of imaginativeness, verging on unorthodoxy, which encourages a search for new solutions to old problems and
  - c) diplomatic ability.
- 4) Collaboration of this team with new bilingual and bicultural positions established in the departmental hierarchies, such as Bilingual Project Officers described later in this appendix.
- 5) The purpose of these teams, is not to take over the planning process, but to provide a constant stimulus to normal departmental mechanisms to plan and adapt. The object will be to identify departmental needs and objectives and strive to have bilingualism and biculturalism incorporated in overall planning.



### C. Sanctions

It is obvious that, in order to permit experimentation the tight control over policy formation which the Civil Service Commission now exercises must be relaxed. There is little likelihood of the C.S.C. undertaking experimental projects in such a virgin field, since its orientation is necessarily to standardization and regularization of procedures within the presently accepted field of perceived Public Service concerns. The alternative is to encourage diverging processes to develop naturally in departments. For the present, the Civil Service Commission's role should be minimal.

Treasury Board must carry out very important functions. Until now Treasury Board has discouraged departmental initiatives by imposing the usual constraints on bilingual and bicultural budgetary items.

It must now use its power to review departmental spending programs to require an adequate bilingual and bicultural expenditure in every department. The combination of this sanctioned power with the stimulation of the central planning team should be sufficient to result in more general, and speedier programs of adaptation to bilingualism and biculturalism.



#### D. Co-ordination

Our emphasis has been on getting a momentum going, even at the expense of some confusion and over-lapping. Adequate co-ordination is possible if inter-departmental co-operation and consultation is encouraged. The role of both the central planning team and Advisory Groups<sup>2</sup> permits and should develop inter-face co-ordination. Both groups will be channels for exchange of ideas and experience, and encourage joint departmental initiatives. Later, the Civil Service Commission might assume a larger co-ordinating function. All four phases, Policy Leadership, Stimulus, Sanctions and Co-ordination are intended to be continuous and mutually re-inforcing.

#### 3. Courses of Action Already Developed by Action Research

A. The nature of the Action-Research project led quite naturally to a wealth of ideas arising from our contact with the 15 departments and agencies. Possible courses of action to increase bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service, which are the direct result of inter-action between project

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix IV.



staff and the government agencies, emanated directly or indirectly from the discussion groups. Most of them have never gone beyond the idea stage and some of them will undoubtedly not be feasible. Others show promise. Some have already been tried out in operational settings by departments and agencies themselves, or as a result of the Action-Research activities.

(i) Bicultural Projects Officer (B.P.O.)<sup>3</sup>

(a) Description

The idea of a bicultural projects officer, is one which was developed by several departments. Although this position varies with each department as its title and duties, there are some essential points in common. He is a full-time employee with the overall function of co-ordinating and carrying out research into feasible courses of action in the field of bilingualism and biculturalism, as well as defining operational objectives and procedures and

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<sup>3</sup> It should also be noted that "bicultural projects officer" is an arbitrary name chosen early in the life of the Action-Research project. No department has adopted the same title and we use "B.P.O." as a matter of convenience to label this concept.



maintaining an active informal liaison with other departments. In general, he must assume an experimental posture, since there is little backlog of experience to draw on. He must test various courses of action as he goes. In short, the B.P.O. is a full-time officer whose role is to stimulate improvements in his department relating to bilingualism and biculturalism.

A quick résumé of the 15 departments and agencies covered by the Action Research project reveals that three B.P.O.'s have been hired, two departments are actively recruiting candidates, two will likely establish the position, three have expressed interest in the B.P.O. concept in some fashion, and finally, five never raised the question.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> While we have thus far considered only the departments and agencies assigned to this study, we are aware of some B.P.O. developments in other departments. The Department of Transport instituted a Special Advisor on Bilingualism (SAB) in late 1964. The present incumbent, an able French Canadian with a background in language instruction, was hired in February 1965 as superintendent of language training. Although the influence of this officer appears to be quite substantial, he may be handicapped to a certain extent by a lack of authority. Clearly, this department has advanced quite far on its own initiative and some of its courses of action and special problems are worthy of study. The Commission is in possession of a complete file on the S.A.B. and the Department of Transport's Bilingualism and Biculturalism committee.

In addition, the Department of National Defence has a senior officer (French Canadian) who appears to be quite active in this area. And the Department of External Affairs appears to have two French-Canadian officers concerned with bilingual and bicultural problems.



(b) Group Activities

Interaction between the established B.P.O.'s and the newly appointed ones needed no prodding, for they were quite enthusiastic about organizing themselves on their own. We arranged an informal luncheon meeting, and from that point, one of the B.P.O.'s took over and organized a meeting of all the people mentioned above, to discuss the Prime Minister's statement on bilingualism and biculturalism. The first meeting, which we attended, was very general in nature, but the B.P.O.'s fixed a date for another meeting, this time with more specific agenda.

In the embryonic stage of development of this type of position, such links between individual B.P.O.'s provide a network of communication among the departments on the subject of bilingualism and biculturalism. This can stimulate cross-fertilization of ideas for application to the individual departmental programs. Furthermore, new ideas may be developed from this interaction.

Another promising possibility arising out of their association is the co-ordination of efforts of more than one department in joint programs. For



instance, one B.P.O. is now promoting the idea of establishing language training facilities at Dorval airport in Montreal for the employees of several departments. Through the other B.P.O.'s, he wants to determine which departments could profit from a language school there, as a prelude to making a co-ordinated request to the C.S.C.

Another possible function of the B.P.O.'s is to provide a working link between the Public Service and the officers of the new Special Secretariat. In fact, the B.P.O.'s, at latest report, were already trying to meet with the Special Secretariat.

(c) In Relation to the Departmental Structure

One way of establishing a B.P.O. in each department is to identify certain specific needs. If the department is able to recognize that an officer is necessary for certain functions, and one is hired on that basis, then this particular person can begin to broaden his functions. The position should be established only when it is likely to become effective. A B.P.O. imposed on a department could very easily be rendered ineffectual by senior officers, especially



if they felt that their own responsibilities were being intruded upon. In the Action Research experience, three departments recognized that a B.P.O. with more general functions would be useful after having previously considered the position in terms of a specific role (language training or French language publications, for example). Only two departments thus far have from the beginning endorsed the B.P.O. position as an effective mechanism to deal with the whole range of bilingualism and biculturalism problems. These latter departments were more apt to proceed in such a manner, being relatively socially oriented in function.

We emphasize that the B.P.O. should not be defined too closely by a rigid classification system. Departments should choose their own title, as each one has done so far. Similarly, the question of salary should be left wide open.<sup>5</sup> Assistance, if needed, should also be generously deployed to aid the B.P.O.

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<sup>5</sup> The B.P.O. may in fact be hired through the new "special advisor" classification.



In regard to the B.P.O.'s position on the organization chart, some departments have established formal executive committees, to which the B.P.O. is attached, to consider problems of bilingualism and biculturalism. In three cases (three out of our six with B.P.O. positions), the B.P.O. reports directly to the chairman of the committee. In other departments, the B.P.O. reports directly to some fairly senior officer, although none of them are at the level of the Assistant Deputy Ministers. In our opinion, this question is crucial. The influence of the B.P.O. on the department depends to a great extent on how much support he can obtain from the senior officer levels. For, if he reports directly to a receptive Deputy Minister or has some other powerful sympathetic ear, then he will at least be able to initiate substantial programs. The commitment at the senior level is a definite requirement for a more favourable bilingual and bicultural situation generally, and is essential for mechanisms such as the B.P.O. to operate effectively.



(d) Qualifications

Finally, we can suggest certain characteristics which would seem suitable for a well-qualified B.P.O.

The incumbent of this post should ideally be a man in his late twenties or early thirties who has had some years' experience in public administration if possible within the department, thereby requiring little orientation. If hired from outside the department, and especially if he has little federal Public Service experience, he will have to be sensitized to the administrative style and outlook of his new department. He should have demonstrated an ability for getting a quick grasp of areas unfamiliar to him, and he should have a bent for innovation. It will also be necessary for him to be a salesman and a source of information on bilingualism and biculturalism. An ability to get along with people and a cultural appreciation of French and of English Canada are also essential qualifications.

Another qualification we feel to be quite important is that the B.P.O. should be English-speaking if possible. Of course, particular conditions in a department and in candidate quali-



fifications are also critical. The recommendation is based on the premise that the predominantly English-speaking members of the Public Service will more willingly follow an English rather than a French-speaking Canadian in these matters. In addition, the latter would find himself under severe environmental constraints in the Public Service at present, in furthering the ends of his own group.

e) Functions

This aspect of the B.P.O. position has been purposely left to the last, for while the duties of the B.P.O. are important, they cannot be outlined in great detail. There is very little prior experience to determine what these functions should be. The fundamental outlook of both the department and the B.P.O. must be one of experimentation and innovation. The B.P.O. must be imaginative and stimulating in his approach to the solution of bilingual and bicultural problems; he must develop and initiate, revise and discard, many courses of action.

As for specific courses of action, we have incorporated several possibilities in a working paper.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Action Research, Working Paper 56.



A list such as this one might serve to suggest certain courses of action which the B.P.O. could initiate.

If the factor of bilingualism and biculturalism is to be considered whenever an important departmental decision is taken, then the B.P.O. would be called upon to advise on matters of policy. This would mean that he would have to be included in the executive committee on important questions and thus be a fairly senior officer. If he is not considered senior enough to be included at this decision-making level, then he must at least maintain close and influential contact with someone who will represent bilingual and bicultural interests. Therefore, the objective of involving bilingualism and biculturalism as a permanent factor in departmental planning may be achieved by collaboration between the B.P.O. and a senior officer, who could perhaps be the chairman of the departmental bilingual and bicultural committee. Some form of working relationship must be formed in each department if bilingualism and biculturalism is to be "plugged" into all significant policy decisions, and not merely relegated to the infrequent consideration of bilingual and bicultural committee meetings.



Whatever preliminary consideration is given to specific duties for the B.P.O., his functions will be fashioned by the particular situation and pressure points of the department. He must remain flexible and undertake initial courses of action without being distracted unduly by extraneous activities. Also, he must resist the pressure to do things which should properly be handled by other officers.

(ii) Executive Linguist

(a) General description

The position of executive linguist is quite different from that of B.P.O. Like the B.P.O., though, it represents a class of positions; it is defined differently depending on particular departmental needs. Each department articulated the position in relation to its own problems and we refer to the executive linguist as a general concept with a number of variations.

The difficulties involved in publishing technical material in French gave rise to the idea of such a position. The executive linguist's role is designed to improve translation by the introduction and



supervision of qualified people in specialized fields from the department, the Translation Bureau, or outside.

Some departments emphasize that the principle of equitable service to the public demands that the situation be improved so that the French-Canadian public can enjoy the same service in the field of scientific and other specialized documents as the English-speaking public. One department expressed it this way in a background paper:

"... the question of the ability to offer services of equal quality to both English- and French-speaking Canadians is in no way academic. Failure to provide such equality of service seriously imperils the usefulness to Canadians of those tax-supported research programmes, gives an unfair advantage to one segment of industry over the other, and manifestly lowers the status of and confidence in the Department's work."

The executive linguist, then, is envisaged as the overseer of publications and translation, primarily in the technical areas. At present, the material is processed by the Translation Bureau, or it is done by French-speaking scientists or other specialists within the departments, or it is simply not done at all. The executive linguist would not be hired to do translation work, although he might



revise material, but rather he would be a co-ordinator responsible for translation and language use in general. He would be responsible for liaison between the department and the Translation Bureau and would deal with the Bureau on a level of equal competence on the linguistic needs of his department. His would be the last word.

The nature of the department's work would influence the functions of the executive linguist such that the kind of output of the department would determine what orientation in functions the executive linguist might have. The position would probably be of most interest to a technical department, but also might be useful for other departments which publish a sizable amount of material.

(b) Position and Career Line

Most departments interested in the executive linguist were concerned about the incumbent's career. No ambitious scientist would want such a temporary position, which would interrupt his scientific career. One Deputy Minister suggested that a whole caste of these officers be developed in a broad application to all departments which would offer greater prestige and added status if recognized in this way.



As one possibility, the executive linguist post could be held by a person interested in an administrative career. After his tenure as executive linguist, he would then be promoted to an administrative position in the department, the attraction being the experience he would receive as a result of his wide-ranging functions. He would have acquired a knowledge of the department's operations as a whole, and would also have had intimate contact with senior officers. The executive linguist conceived in these terms has the added advantage of providing French Canadians with an excellent point of entry into the senior level of the more technical departments of the Public Service.

The Public Service will experience great difficulty in finding fully qualified executive linguists and therefore, some kind of initial training program should be given. Any proper on-the-job training should be fairly extensive and require one or two years to complete, and should enjoy a close connection with a university linguistics department. In this case the candidate should be able to gain an advanced degree.



Another possible orientation of the executive linguist's development is in the information or public relations field. Since the object of this position is to improve the communication between the department and the public, the executive linguist might be a starting point for a career of this nature.

(c) Qualifications

If the position is heavily weighted on the administrative side, the candidate should have a strong academic background in literature and/or linguistics, and possibly law and political science, to prepare him for the additional program of in-service and university training. Of course, he should also have demonstrated a strong interest in written communication and language use.

On the other hand, if the executive linguist himself is expected to be prepared to undertake technical document revision, his background should be in the scientific disciplines. The executive linguist in this case must be proficient in the general field in which the department is engaged since he must be able to deal with the people who are specialists in these areas.



(d) Recruitment

The main objection to this position seems to be the expected difficulty in recruiting suitable prospects. Who would want to jeopardize a scientific career for this type of position? We feel that there would be qualified French Canadians to take on such responsibility; we met one or two in the technical departments who expressed considerable interest in an executive linguist position. Another departmental official opined that there were probably a number of "frustrated writers" among the scientific and professional people. A well-planned experimental program of recruiting and study would be required. Change and adaptation in the program must be expected, as well as an initially high proportion of drop-outs.

One department considerably perked up their interest when it was pointed-out that such an officer should expect a salary level in excess of the one he would merit on technical competence alone. Clearly, salary levels should be adjusted to recompense for the dual ability of the executive linguist. In passing, we might mention one case where a modified form of the executive linguist idea was put to the



test (not directly due to our stimulation). The central agencies made the department in question lower the salary rating to the extent that the competition was not a success.

The Civil Service Commission has indicated, on the other hand, that it is in favour of establishing a whole new species of communicator which, however, refers unfortunately to interpretative writers rather than executive linguists.

(e) Opposition to establishing the position

Since qualified scientists are in tremendous demand, some senior civil servants wonder whether the government can afford the "luxury" of diverting considerable expertise to the work of communication. This is a valid question, but we must recommend that the greater emphasis be placed on providing better service to the French-Canadian public.



(iii) Public Information Officer (PIO)

The raising of the status of the public information officer is a course of action which was the particular concern of one department.<sup>6</sup> It is similar to the executive linguist course of action in that the two both involve communication with the public but it is an established classification while the executive linguist, of course, is not.

It is an understatement to point out that the federal Public Service has a general problem of communication with French Canada. The Public Information Officer becomes a key position in such a state of affairs, for it would seem that his contribution in improving the image of the federal government would be quite important.

(iv) Review of Printing Policies

One aspect of the French publications problem is the printing expense for such material, especially in the scientific areas, where the circulation of French copies of

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<sup>6</sup> An excellent two-page memorandum was written on the subject by a senior officer in this department. The Public Information Officer is a typical example of the difficulties caused by a rigid classification system in an area where there is a shortage of qualified candidates. A very revealing salary comparison is made between the Public Information Officer and certain incoming university graduate positions. The P.I.O. is often paid less.



publications is far below that of the English equivalents. In this case, the cost per French copy printed is naturally above that of the English unit cost. A department making a decision whether to publish a document in French as well as English, would take into consideration the high cost per unit of the French version and in some cases, there might be a choice to make between devoting a certain amount of money to further research or publishing some completed material in French. To minimize the attraction of placing a low priority on French publication, a special budgetary estimate or other accounting arrangement might be established to ensure that more material is published in French. This suggestion was brought up by several departments.

#### Recruitment Courses of Action

The following series of courses of action are possible measures to increase the intake of bilingual candidates into the Public Service.

##### (v) Expanding the French-Canadian Resource Base

The principle of this course of action is to increase the potential number of French-Canadian recruits by broadening the position and candidate specifications. In other words, possible candidates should not merit special consideration.



because they fit a preconceived, stereotype mould. The horizons should be expanded to broaden the senior public servant's conception of the best qualifications and criteria for selection to particular positions.

In some departments, it has seemed fairly obvious that when the senior officials think in terms of recruitment, they have a narrow concept of requirements, based on long experience. Consequently, they equate their own background and performance with what is desirable among recruits.

The adjustment to the acceptance of new criteria is always a continuing process in a large organization such as a federal department, but it is a slow one. In the present context it may have serious effects on the recruitment of French Canadians. Except for a few well-defined university graduate categories it could be argued that departments are not exploiting the French-Canadian supply of talent to the fullest extent. Vigorous recruitment operations should, of course, be carried on in the traditional supply areas, but other equally fertile ones should not be neglected.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> For a full discussion of this course of action, see Action Research working paper # 89 "New candidates for the middle and upper level cadres of key departments".



Coupled with this course of action is the search for French Canadians in hitherto untapped areas where big organizations do not customarily look. The Public Service, then, should look particularly in the fields of small business and professions, labour, agriculture, and municipal employment. Some worthwhile candidates in these areas will not have a university degree, and these cases, in-service training, terminating perhaps in a degree, might be considered.

The main advantage of this course of action is the recruitment of French Canadians who have not been conditioned to the basically Anglo-American mentality of the federal bureaucracy. The objective must be not to encourage this conditioning -- but rather to maintain their French-Canadian outlook and way of doing things, and at the same time permit them to operate as public servants. Obviously, it has far-reaching implications of departmental adjustment if the approach is to work. The simultaneous creation of a working bicultural environment in many places would be essential to accommodate such individuals. Otherwise they will either conform to the English-oriented milieu, or become frustrated appendages to their agency; or they will soon depart.



The Federal Public Service realizes that the Quebec French-speaking society particularly is different from the rest of Canada and should therefore be treated as such in recruitment. In searching for French-Canadian material, a better knowledge of Quebec and increased awareness of the social structure will aid recruiting officers in identifying valuable French-Canadian prospects.

(vi) Personal Recruitment Efforts by Senior Officers

A fairly simple course of action which has been mentioned by several departments is the personal involvement of senior officers in the recruitment of French Canadians for senior level positions. This is now seldom done -- the matter is left to the "French" member of the Civil Service Commission. The spadework of selecting suitable candidates for a given post should be done beforehand at a more junior level and after this initial selection process, a senior official or officials could deal directly with the prospective candidates. These candidates should be made to realize that they are being sought because the department needs qualified men - not additional French-Canadian front men. The statement is trite, is recognized and observed by almost everyone in form, but by almost no one in substance. Even if a candidate cannot be enticed away from his present occupation, the Ottawa official will have at least gained another contact with French Canada.



The use of senior French Canadians for this recruitment procedure should only be considered if these French Canadians occupy high positions with real authority. If they are in a position of little real authority, their participation will not be at all effective. High ranking French Canadians must be recruited by the "boss".

(vii) Recruitment Through Personal Contact

The aim here is for Ottawa public servants to establish a rapport with influential French Canadians in the milieu where candidates are being sought. A planned system of contact might counterbalance the more natural pipeline Ottawa now has with the English-speaking elite. If senior officials develop this form of contact, they will know of French-Canadian prospects when senior positions in Ottawa become vacant.

Three of four departments requested us to look into the possibility of arranging a luncheon in Montreal on this basis. One such meeting has taken place between two French-Canadian businessmen and an important Assistant Deputy Minister of a developing department. It is difficult to detect concrete results from these informal contacts, but an occasional "trip to Montreal" -- French-speaking Montreal -- may help senior officials to keep tabs on highly qualified French Canadians.



(viii) Inventory of French Canadians

One possible course of action which some senior officials have suggested and which we recommend, with reservations is the maintenance of a departmental list of competent French Canadians. This list would include the French Canadians who might be potential recruits for the higher levels of the Public Service. Since appointments at the Director level and above are in effect made on the basis of personal recommendations rather than through the Civil Service Commission competitions, this list could be consulted whenever senior level positions become vacant. If a French-Canadian appointment is desired to fill the vacancy, feelers could be put out to these potential candidates. A reservation to this procedure is that an inventory or list can be a hindrance, as well as a help. To be of value, it must be tied to courses of action v, vi and vii.

This course of action is really another method for maintaining close tabs on French-Canadian talent. Such procedures are necessary, since the Civil Service Commission alone has not been able to fulfil its staffing functions in regard to French Canadians. Departments continue to operate within the system and cooperation with the Civil Service Commission, but they should also supplement this



service by searching out recruits on their own. A French-Canadian candidate actively followed up by several Ottawa departments is more apt to come to Ottawa than if the Civil Service Commission alone occasionally contacts him.

(ix) Special French-Canadian Internship Program<sup>9</sup>

This special program whereby French-Canadian universities are asked to select their top students for a summer internship in a federal agency in Ottawa is now going into its third year. It is a very encouraging step in the recruitment of French-Canadian students and has attracted the fancy of many departments.

Some departments consider that while there were imperfections in their own handling of the students last summer, the interns (students) were on the whole quite satisfied. If this is not an accurate picture, then the actual results should be made quite clear to the departments.

The internship program has a number of implications which some departments have realized. A training program totally in French has been established as the ideal, but of

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<sup>9</sup> For a complete report on the 1965 program, see a study done by Paul Pichette in the Recruitment project of the Public Service Division.



course, is difficult to attain in practice. Although the Civil Service Commission organizes a general orientation program for these students, it might be feasible for some departments to pool their bilingual resources for internal training sessions. The presence of a number of French Canadians whose English may not be up to that of an average Franco-Ontarian is also a healthy situation in the department.

It should be noted that the Civil Service Commission appears to be very proud of the program, for it is being organized under their auspices. However, we have received the impression that some officials of the Commission consider this course of action to be their principal French-Canadian recruitment effort. We hope they will not be content with this measure alone.

(x) English-speaking Summer Students

It appears that the Civil Service Commission is placing growing emphasis on the recruiting value of summer jobs for university students in general. We would recommend that this increased attention to student summer employment also include bilingual and bicultural orientation. Some steps should be taken to acclimatize the English-Canadian students to the quasi-bilingual Public Service it is hoped they will enter upon graduation.



(xi) CSC Advertising

Many departments have criticized the Civil Service Commission advertising techniques for their lack of imagination and effectiveness. The Commission is not satisfied either, because, they say, of a small budget.

Whether the Civil Service Commission obtains extra funds or not, we recommend that more emphasis be placed on the shortage area, namely French Canada. The C.S.C. claims as well to have received criticism for catering to French Canada at the expense of some English-Canadian areas. We regard a certain amount of such discontent as inevitable, and maintain that a greater concentration should be placed on developing advertising techniques suitable to French-Canadian tastes. (We do not comment here on the new role of the Department of Manpower and Immigration in personnel recruiting for the Public Service, as it was being put in motion after the end of our field work).

(xii) "Salting the Mine" and "Priming the Pump"

These two orientations describe the type of approach recruiters might use when searching for qualified French-Canadian candidates. The "salting the mine" technique involves an attempt to create work units of French Canadians to produce a congenial atmosphere and in the long run



facilitate recruitment. In addition to the creation of foci from personnel within departments, several French Canadians might be recruited at one time with the intention of at least starting them off as a work unit.

The logical extension of this concept is the more formalized unilingual unit. Except for isolated cases in which such a unit develops naturally and in the National Film Board where it has achieved formal recognition, the unilingual unit was never discussed as a course of action. We would presume that this lack of consideration for the unilingual unit is understandable, since it involves some serious dislocations of departmental organization. If it becomes an important Commission recommendation, we would urge that it be introduced using the same approach as we recommend for all Public Service courses of action. It should be regarded as a possibility for each department to examine closely in the light of its own structure. In each case, the implementation of unilingual units should proceed by degrees and in relation to other courses of action. The extent or form of the unilingual unit should be a matter of great flexibility, in part defined by the orientation of each department. The unilingual unit then, should be regarded



as one tool in the construction of a broad strategy of bilingualism and biculturalism.<sup>10</sup>

The second technique, "pump priming", developed from the notion that the presence of a respected French Canadian acts as a magnet for other French Canadians. If at least one highly qualified French Canadian is placed in a unit where formerly there were none, other French Canadians are more apt to join the unit. Therefore, efforts could first be concentrated on hiring the initial recruit, necessarily with some reputation in his field. He should then provide a force of attraction for others.

#### (xiii) Civil Service Commission Attitudes to Recruitment

The reaction of the Civil Service Commission to departmental criticism of its advertising and other recruitment measures is largely negative. At a meeting with the Commissioners and branch heads, we were asked to outline some of the suggestions made by senior officials in various departments. We reviewed some of these potential courses of action, but after each suggestion we were informed that scheme had already been discussed thoroughly or that it was totally unfeasible. The Commission felt that it was acting to the best of its ability in view of its limited resources.

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<sup>10</sup> Although we have observed little departmental experience with it, we have commented here on the ULU, because of the attention it has received by the Public Service Division.



We have also been told by the Civil Service Commission that it has extended a standing invitation to Deputy Ministers to discuss recruitment or other matters with it. The Commission does not feel that it is incumbent upon it to carry the problem to the departments. Rather it is up to the departments to take the initiative. In a later meeting with the officers of the Staffing Branch, we encouraged them in their daily dealings with departments to urge the departments to elevate the importance of the bilingualism criterion, but they believed it was not up to them to interfere, in this manner.

The Civil Service Commission's attitude is negative in the sense that while it is doing everything in its power to encourage bilingualism and biculturalism, it hesitates to take the initiative with departments for joint planning. In the field of recruitment, we would strongly suggest that the dynamic leadership, the initiative necessary to stimulate French-Canadian intake be lodged in the federal departments rather than in the Civil Service Commission or in any other central service such as the Manpower and Immigration department.



Courses of Action Contributing to the  
Bicultural Environment of the Public Service

We have previously described the attempts of the departments and agencies to grapple with the problem of providing French Canadians with a more congenial working environment. Essentially, the bilingualism and biculturalism goal of the Public Service is characterized by a desire to have French Canadians participate fully in public life without having to sacrifice their own language and culture on the job. As well as the broad gauge approach of the experimental courses of action, a fundamental change in public administration styles and attitudes is absolutely essential for adapting to the needs of bilingualism and biculturalism. This conclusion is, in fact, the central finding of the Action Research project and is more thoroughly treated in another section.<sup>11</sup> At this point there are some specific courses of action which we would recommend as possible means of effecting this change. Such courses of action, designed to condition the climate of the Public Service, are only examples of the posture with which departments should be approaching such a basic problem.

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<sup>11</sup> See chapter V.



(xiv) Sensitivity Training

Sensitivity training is designed to alert the individual to the nature of his environment and his relation to it. It has been used by major business firms for many years, for purposes of management development. In the Province of Quebec the bicultural aspect has been stressed. The notion of applying this type of program to bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service first arose in a general way in the proposal to have "orientation sessions" in the differences between the two cultures.

One department reached the point of considering the possibility of actually applying a sensitivity training program with its own senior staff. It is a complicated and controversial step and the strategy of introducing such a program must be worked out carefully. At least one other department has applied the program at lower administrative levels, but not in the bilingual and bicultural context.

Sensitivity training may be viewed as a rather drastic step in bilingual and bicultural orientation, but it may also be the kind of process which is necessary to change Public Service attitudes. In effect, it represents an adjustment at a forced pace. Since present conditions require such a change at the senior levels of the Public Service, sensitivity training should be given serious consideration.



(xv) Cultural Relations Program

The type of orientation course of action which involves French movies, seminars, discussion groups, etc. (a popular suggestion) is certainly worthwhile and could be considered as a mild form of sensitivity training. Like anything else, though, such a program needs to be organized and we did not observe more than isolated efforts of this kind in the departments. A B.P.O. or some other suitable officer could be responsible for a comprehensive program of this nature, including weekend trips to Quebec and other ingenious ways of acquainting public servants with modern French Canada.

(xvi) Reception of French-Canadian Recruits

Perhaps there should be some emphasis on the initiation of French Canadians to the Ottawa environment. An orientation program to the city and its inhabitants might facilitate the adjustment of French Canadians to an atmosphere perhaps quite unlike their own.

The orientation of French-Canadian recruits to the working habits of the federal bureaucracy should not be left simply to chance so that they have to fend for themselves from the beginning or be "shown the ropes" by fellow French Canadians. An effort should be made to integrate them into the federal government office routine. After a short time at work, perhaps one or more group sessions



could be held to discuss the cultural difference of the two groups as manifested by their different working styles.

(xvii) Ottawa-Quebec Exchanges

Another course of action which departmental officers are apt to mention frequently is the possibility of arranging an exchange program between the Quebec provincial government and the federal government. Although this idea is sound in theory, it has a very limited future for the practical difficulties involved would inhibit any large-scale swapping of personnel.

However, any exchange of officers at an intermediate or senior level would have a number of beneficial effects. The English-Canadian federal employee would personally profit from his experience as well as being in a position to inform his colleagues about the Quebec Public Service. Likewise a competent French-Canadian provincial official in the Ottawa government would increase the federal employees' understanding of French Canadians as public servants.

Evaluation of Language Training and Selected

Courses of Action

The CSC language training courses represent the biggest step so far taken by the Public Service to deal with the problem of bilingualism and biculturalism. Therefore, as a preface to possible courses of action in this area, we



evaluate the efforts already undertaken by the government. From our own interaction with the Public Service, we feel in a position to comment on the organization of language training.

a) Blanket approach in language training

The language training system in the Public Service is very narrowly based, for only one course, the Voix et Images de France, is offered by the C.S.C. All public servants who wish to benefit from government-sponsored language training are obliged to enroll in this V.I.F. course since there are no alternative courses. (A "Canadian" version is under preparation).

At present, it is the C.S.C.'s policy simply to expand these facilities and continue to rely on variants of the V.I.F. method. In effect, the system can be conceived as equivalent to a mass production plant; public servants are fed into the process at one end and are supposed to come out the other as bilingual products of various degrees. The operation becomes more efficient with each additional school, since the cost per student processed falls.

The CSC initially tested the V.I.F. method with 32 students, but decided to adopt the V.I.F. system before the results of these first students could be properly evaluated



by actual Public Service experience. In effect, then, the C.S.C. is really continuing to experiment with this method, only now on an enormous scale.

b) Experimentation and course diversification

It is our contention that greater experimentation should have taken place, and indeed should now be taking place in the field of language training. The V.I.F. system may be excellent for certain situations and cases, and should be used. However, it is only one of many methods used to teach French. The C.S.C. should develop a series of courses which suit a variety of circumstances and needs of individuals and departments.

Our emphasis on experimentation and course diversification is based on the existence of expressed needs. Not all positions require the same standard level of French for the public servant to operate effectively. We have been made very aware of the different requirements articulated by the departments and agencies in which Action Research has operated. By offering variants of a blanket course to all public servants, the C.S.C. is suggesting that all students should be brought along the same path, no matter what functions they fulfil in the department, and no matter what are their personal linguistic potentialities.



As a specific example of special language training needs, let us mention the case of a certain Assistant Deputy Minister currently enrolled in the half-day course. His work and that of the whole branch is suffering from his absence from the office while he is away on the course. Would it not possibly be more efficient to send a language teacher to his office 2 hours per day for individual lessons? In this way, he would progress as fast as his classmates, but be able to perform much better at the office. Perhaps he should be sent to the Berlitz School in Morin Heights for a few one-week periods to acquire the same ability as six months of half-day courses. We do not claim to know which particular course would be most suitable in this case, but we feel that there should be a set of options, and that language training should be operated on a more experimental and flexible basis.

c) Economic cost of language training

If we examine the V.I.F. method in terms of its cost to the Government, we begin to realize the importance of sound decision-making in the language training sector. The total sum allotted to the administration of these V.I.F. schools is high but reasonable when quoted in terms of cost per student. In terms of productivity, this factor is very important. Departments and agencies are constantly complaining that efficiency is seriously affected when



employees are off learning another language. Many key officials simply cannot be replaced and are therefore not released to attend classes. The cost of language training would be much more realistically determined if the student's salary and overheads were also included in the computation.

There is an additional wastage factor. Departmental "deadwood" is often shipped off to the language training courses, for the better public servants are just too busy. If the system was more economical in time, and custom made to optimize individual performance, then these more qualified people would be more able to free themselves for the courses.

d) Effects of excess centralization

Jurisdiction in the field of language training is slipping into the hands of the Civil Service Commission. The principle of complete centralization of language training authority is sound, for the wastage of departmental experimentation is eliminated. Indeed, departments display a poor record of attempting language training on their own. The C.S.C. can extend its "professional" service rather than leave it in the hands of the "non-professional" departments. But it is very possible that this consolidation of authority which is a traditional bureaucratic response to a problem of this kind, will inhibit departments from taking positive steps to complement orthodox language training methods.



The CSC has only one follow-up measure to its courses - more courses. Under the present circumstances where the C.S.C. is supreme in the field of language training, some departments cannot even obtain funds from the Treasury Board, even to buy a tape recorder to be used for language practice. Now, it is possible that departmental initiatives in complementary measures might increase the effectiveness of language training.

In addition, a department's desire to experiment with post-course instruction represents a healthy attitude on the part of its senior officers. Some departments are quite content to leave language training matters completely in the hands of the service agency. They expect returning students to have "learned" French, and do not view the acquisition of this skill as a continuing process. The centralized system of the C.S.C. fosters this attitude, instead of encouraging departments to view language training as a continuing process. Linguistic progress is being sacrificed to administrative convenience or "efficiency".

e) Evaluation of Departmental Thinking vis-à-vis Language Training and the C.S.C.

Initially, the federal departments appear to have responded quite well to the C.S.C.'s call for students.



When graduates of at least one "degré" began to re-enter the Public Service, the departments first became aware of the results. It became quite apparent that students did not become fluent in the second language after a few months of courses. We suspect that some dissatisfaction with the results was inevitable, no matter what method was used to teach French, for there is no magic way of learning French. Departments expressed disappointment at the effectiveness of the course, and considered it inefficient that so many man-hours were spent without showing a great improvement in language ability.

However, departments continue to cooperate with the C.S.C. to the extent of releasing their employees for language training. They do this even though they begin to doubt the effectiveness of the course. Whatever the individual feelings of the department concerned, it must use the system imposed on the Public Service. The following two quotes, the first from an internal bilingualism and bi-culturalism report and the second from a letter to the Royal Commission, illustrate this feeling of forced participation.

"It should be planned, for example, to fit all willing employees into a language training course within a maximum of 5 years no matter what the administrative hardships of releasing staff."<sup>12</sup>

"...other levels... would have to fit in with the main government plan."

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<sup>12</sup> Italics ours.



It does not matter whether the C.S.C. can give good answers to the criticism of departments. The sometimes incoherent questioning directed at us by the departments represents a desire to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of language training. Some are in the more advanced stages of organizing a rational plan for sending employees to language training, while others are still groping with this complex administrative problem. As they become more knowledgeable about language instruction and more conscious of their own needs, departments will become less willing to rely totally on the V.I.F. system, (or the new "Canadian" system, based largely on V.I.F. principles, which is in the making). The principal theme which emanates from our discussions with the departments and agencies, is that a combination of greater departmental initiative and C.S.C. flexibility must be forthcoming. In addition, the C.S.C. will have to develop a new relationship with its clients -- the departments -- if it is to begin to serve them. That is, an aggressive program of joint planning with each department of its own specific needs. Planning strategy 1-B (See Appendices II and III) is a way to do this.



(xviii) Receptive Language Training (R.L.T.)

The C.S.C. language training system is designed to teach French so that a significant number of public servants may become fully bilingual. This ambitious goal requires a Herculean effort on the part of the individuals who are taking the course. Some departments have expressed their desire for a more realistic and functional language training course. This desire can be illustrated by receptive language training. After numerous consultations with the Commission's linguists and with the departments which became interested in the concept, we can give a rough description of a possible R.L.T. course.<sup>13</sup>

Receptive language training simply means a course in which the emphasis is placed on developing written or oral comprehension of another language. Learning a language involves acquiring some or all of four basic skills, namely: the ability to speak, to understand, to write, and to read. The teaching of the passive skills, reading and listening, may be termed receptive language training.

A course developed on the basis of this concept could be oriented towards one passive skill or the other, depending on the needs of the department. It would not be compartmentalized to the extent that one skill would be

<sup>13</sup>For a more detailed outline of a R.L.T. see Action Research working papers.



taught to the exclusion of the others. Indeed, it is recommended that a second skill receive some attention as the reinforcement of the primary one. For example, if the principal objective is to enable public servants to understand spoken French, students in a course would be also given a fair amount of instruction and practice in reading. Since the development of this course would involve the breaking of new ground in the language training field, a first-rate linguist would be essential to do the necessary research in the preparation of the course.

The concept of receptive language training evolved because of the widely disparate needs as expressed to us by several departments (seven in all expressed interest). No two departments have shown a desire for exactly the same course. Some departments became interested in the advantages of concentrating on receptive skills, but each one exhibited a significant variation in emphasis. Receptive language training represents a synthesis of similar desires, and we would not suggest that it applied throughout the entire Public Service. However, it is one example of the type of course which could be offered by the C.S.C. as a language training centre. If language training remains in the hands of the C.S.C. it should develop a portfolio of language courses, so that students would not be obliged



to enroll in a variant of the one standard course. The fact that it will initially cost more per capita must be accepted although if salary, overheads, and lost performance of regular duties of students are included in the accounting, the cost differential lessens. The approach requires an experimental, enquiring posture on the part of the C.S.C. This posture is now evident by its absence. The C.S.C. and its experts "know" as was evidenced by their bored but decisive rejection of R.L.T. as a concept when we put it to them for consideration.

(xix) Selection of Students for Language Training

Departments which participate in the C.S.C. language training system are confronted with a delicate administrative procedure - how to choose students from the ranks of the volunteers. Departments are facing the problem with varying degrees of concern, but there is a growing awareness of its special nature. At the moment, there is an unfortunate tendency on the part of departments to select prospective students according to their availability. Clearly a mechanism must be developed to select the students on the basis of natural ability, potential for promotion, and opportunity to use the second language.



As the situation now stands, it is the responsibility of the departments to decide who can apply for language training, and in what order. The language schools must accept the candidates selected although they are responsible for the assignment of students to certain class levels. The C.S.C. would prefer to handle the selection of students as well, thus increasing the overall control of the operation.

If this additional control gravitates towards the C.S.C., then it is possible that the language schools will be even more out of touch with department needs. In our discussions with the departments, we have concluded that departmental officials should have the last word as to who should be released for language training. Therefore, it might be better to think in terms of some joint system of selecting and placing students.

(xx) Language training for new recruits

This course of action is another one of those often suggested by senior officials. As their reasoning goes, there would be no great dislocation or complication in the department since new recruits have only light duties. They are young and often just out of university; therefore, it is the best time to send them off to language training classes.



On the other hand, some senior officers maintain that junior officers want to identify themselves with the department and their work as soon as possible. Also, graduating students might resent being sent back to school just when they think they have finally finished.

In the face of the pros and cons of this issue, there are only two departments to our knowledge in the Public Service which have a definite policy of sending new recruits to the C.S.C. schools. We do not necessarily recommend it as a policy for all departments, but it would be useful if careers were planned to include language training at some early point. This planning should commit a department to program language training for recruits as a matter of course. It may be the initial organizational step necessary to make departments gear themselves to future bilingual capacity.

(xxi) Post-course posting

Another element in the planning process for language training is the opportunity to use the second language later. Ideally, all course participants should be assigned to positions in Ottawa, the regional offices, or even abroad, where they will be forced to practice what they have just learned. A number of departments suggested this possibility,



but we have no evidence as yet that language training is being linked to career planning.

It is impossible to organize careers in such a way that all students could be placed in a milieu where the second language prevails. However, we believe that departments should consider this factor in a systematic way.

(xxii) Supernumerary positions

Supernumerary positions, or in Public Service jargon, "double banking", refers to the necessity of adding positions to the basic establishments in order to be in a position to release public servants for language training. It is a notion which arose principally during discussions on language training, but applies to any training course involving a substantial amount of working time.

The common Public Service excuse for inaction is lack of time or staff. To carry out a full bilingualism and biculturalism program, much of the employees' time is required, while the normal demands on the department, of course, do not cease. Therefore, many senior officials feel that before the Government can really be serious about bilingualism and biculturalism, it must establish a policy



of increasing personnel to offset the time lost in language training and other bilingualism and biculturalism activities.

The question of supernumeraries is not a departmental decision, but a cabinet one, and we would recommend that it be given consideration.<sup>14</sup>

(xxiii) Senior level example

In order to encourage the learning of French among the middle and lower echelons of the Public Service, senior personnel should set the pace. The senior public servants should make a point of actually using French at work as much as possible. In addition, they should participate in departmental activities designed to promote the practice of French. By such overt demonstration of a real desire to learn French, the lower levels will follow this lead. Senior level involvement in any bilingualism and biculturalism course of action is not something which can be fobbed off on subordinates.

(xxiv) Integral bilingualism

This notion refers to the simultaneous written use of both languages. In recent years, there has been a great increase in the use of bilingual letterheads, forms, signs,

<sup>14</sup> One department did include these extra positions in its last estimates, but was turned down by the Treasury Board.



files, labels, leading to the much maligned "accomplishment" of bilingual cheques. We endorse this progress and urge its continuation. The systematic completion of full integral bilingualism should be a Government policy, but must be organized by departments individually. They must themselves establish some sort of priority list to accomplish this goal over a specific time period. We suggest that departments first begin with the most obvious occasions where unilingualism can be needlessly insulting.

For lengthy material which involve a great deal of translation, we would again recommend an incremental policy. At first, English office manuals could be given a French preface or introduction. Summaries of some documents could be useful (even for the English Canadians who might prefer the shorter French version). Bilingual specifications and contracts represent a problem of a different magnitude. Two agencies regard it as especially troublesome, and no satisfactory solution has thus far been found.

(xxv) Translation priority

From what we are led to believe, the Translation Bureau has not been able to establish an effective priority system for translating material submitted by the departments. Several senior officials complained that they had



no such service in their own departments, and that someone should be responsible for it.

The agency which hired a "Coordinator of Translation" intends to use this officer in part for this purpose. We recommend that departments with substantial workloads in translation investigate the manner in which their own translation is being done and create a mechanism to establish priority levels. This is, of course, a meaningless proposal unless an executive linguist or similar liaison is set up.

(xxvi) Translation decentralization

From our discussion with departments, we feel that more effective translation could be achieved if operated on a more decentralized basis. It appears that most agencies would profit from having more translators in close proximity to their operations. In this way, more translators could develop competence in the area of specialization of the agency. Departments should have the option to engage outside translators for certain work, and do certain translating with their own staff. This could be done under an executive linguist. The Translation Bureau should maintain its functions intact, but a little competition and innovation by the department should give it a new and healthy incentive. Furthermore the use of outside translation services would



help develop that essential industry in Canada, and also provide facilities for peak load work. The importance of departmental responsibility and initiative hold here as with language training.

The Translation Bureau should be given the resources to build up a body of expertise in the major areas of government activity more than it has been able to do. And an increase in the physical placement of translation within each department and involvement with its work would also help develop experts in certain fields. The status of translations must be drastically raised, with much higher salary scales. This would the crisis of lack of personnel in short order, attracting staff from abroad, and students into the field. Without this, decentralization or any other strategy is not worth considering.

(xxvii) French Correspondence Writers

There appears to be a need for a position somewhere between a translator and a secretary. Correspondence with the French public and greater use of French in directives and correspondence with Quebec regional offices, is putting increased pressure on translation services. There should be a method whereby English Canadians could give the required information directly to a French writer in the office, who would then compose the original communication in French.



Bright secretaries, clerks, students and others who show a flair for French composition might be assigned such work. Translation would be avoided, and French-Canadian personnel would not be saddled with this extra chore.

(xxviii) French Editorial Boards

Some departments would like to take steps to reduce the amount of poor French material sent out to the public. A suitable mechanism within a department might be the establishment of a French editorial board which would have the last word on this material. Such a possibility might also be viewed in the context of several of the more technical departments collaborating together. The boards might be made up of both full-time public servants and part-time appointees.

(xxix) Inter-Departmental Linguistic Communication

There should be some investigation into the possibility of exchanging vocabulary, terminology and other useful information within the Public Service. The Translation Bureau has a small terminology section, but departments have shown a desire to supplement this research by compiling vocabularies in their own particular areas.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> One department has undertaken a pilot project to assemble a lexicon of terminology for one of its branches. Other departments are less enthusiastic, and feel that the English terms are difficult enough in themselves to master, or that it is society's responsibility to search for the correct French terms and not that of any individual department.



(xxx) Author's Language Policy

An "author's" language" policy, where it is expected that everyone will employ the language with which he is most familiar, is a very popular notion. Some Ottawa departments have established part of the concept as a matter of policy - French-Canadians can write in French if they please. However, very few as a rule actually do so in practice, since it leads to possible delays and misunderstanding. We have been led to believe, though, that all five of the non-civil service government agencies involved in Action Research have been able to adopt this policy. They claim that for the most part, written material can be prepared in French and understood throughout the agency.

The author's language policy in one-to-one conversations is very awkward and only practiced in isolated cases. However, it appears to operate satisfactorily in fairly formalized meetings. As the comprehension of the English Canadians for French grows, this type of bilingual meeting should occur more frequently.

A final aspect of the author's language policy concerns telephone conversations. A caller normally adopts the language in which the telephone is answered. In the Federal Public Service in Ottawa, the telephone is almost



invariably answered in English. But if the telephone were answered in a bilingual way by a respondent who is bilingual, or even in French if the respondent's mother tongue is French, then a French-speaking person would know that he could use his own language. In addition, the English-speaking person might be more inclined to practice his French if he knew that he was talking to a French-speaker. This practice might slow down communication somewhat, but it might increase the use of French in Ottawa.

#### 4. Conclusion

The process of Action Research uncovered a great many other possible courses of action. Those above were selected for their illustrative qualities as well as for what we consider their feasibility. In themselves, they are not significant. When developed in a program of mutually supporting courses of action, they have some value. If given further momentum by a centrally located task force to spark policy leadership, stimulus, sanction and co-ordination, they can really begin to make progress. But without the parallel implementation of more fundamental proposals such as those outlined in Chapter V, we recommend



that courses of action of this limited type be discarded as mere palliatives designed to calm and fool French Canada. If more fundamental steps are not taken, we suggest that the Federal Public Service can never achieve a degree of bilingualism or biculturalism which could be acceptable to French Canada.

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